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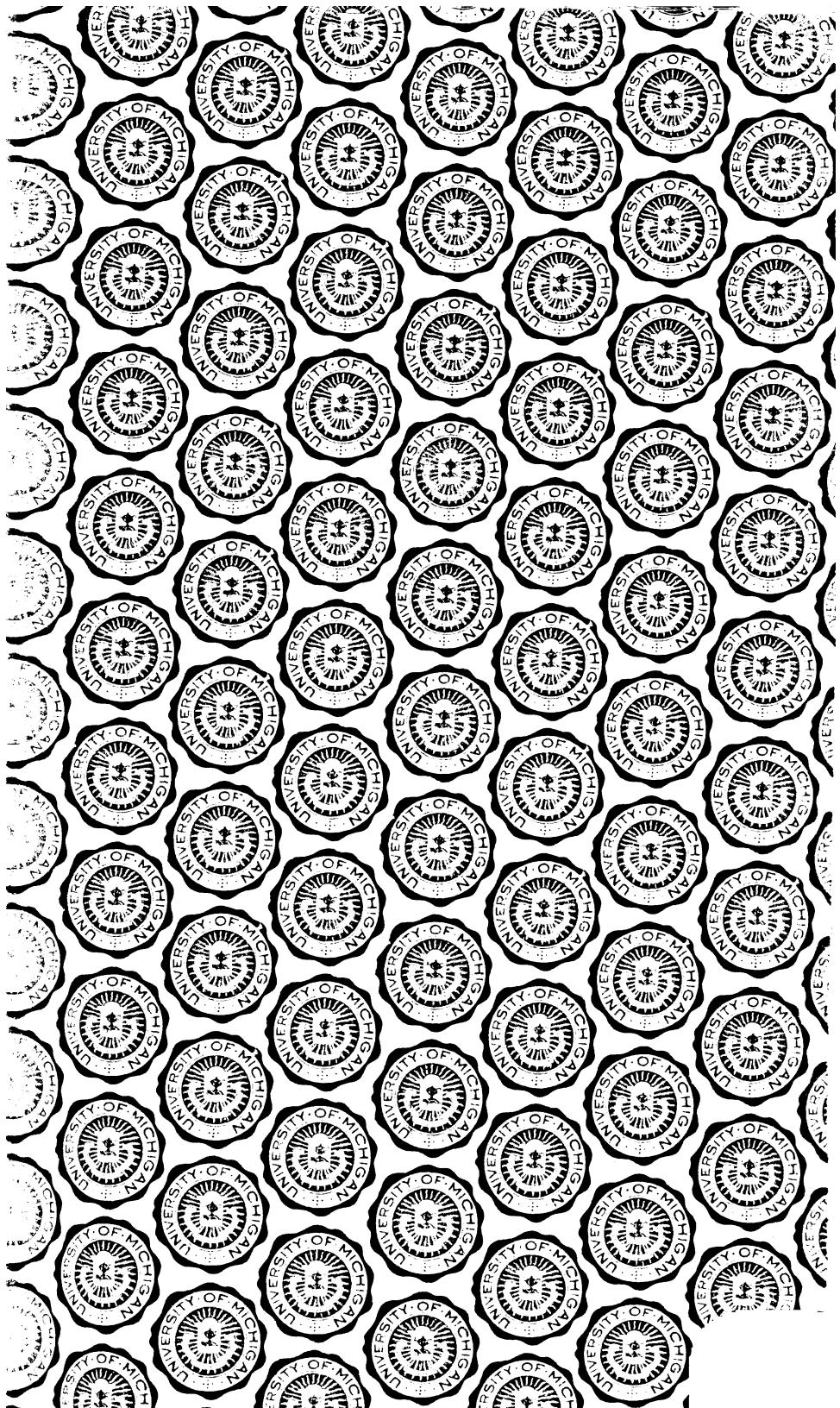
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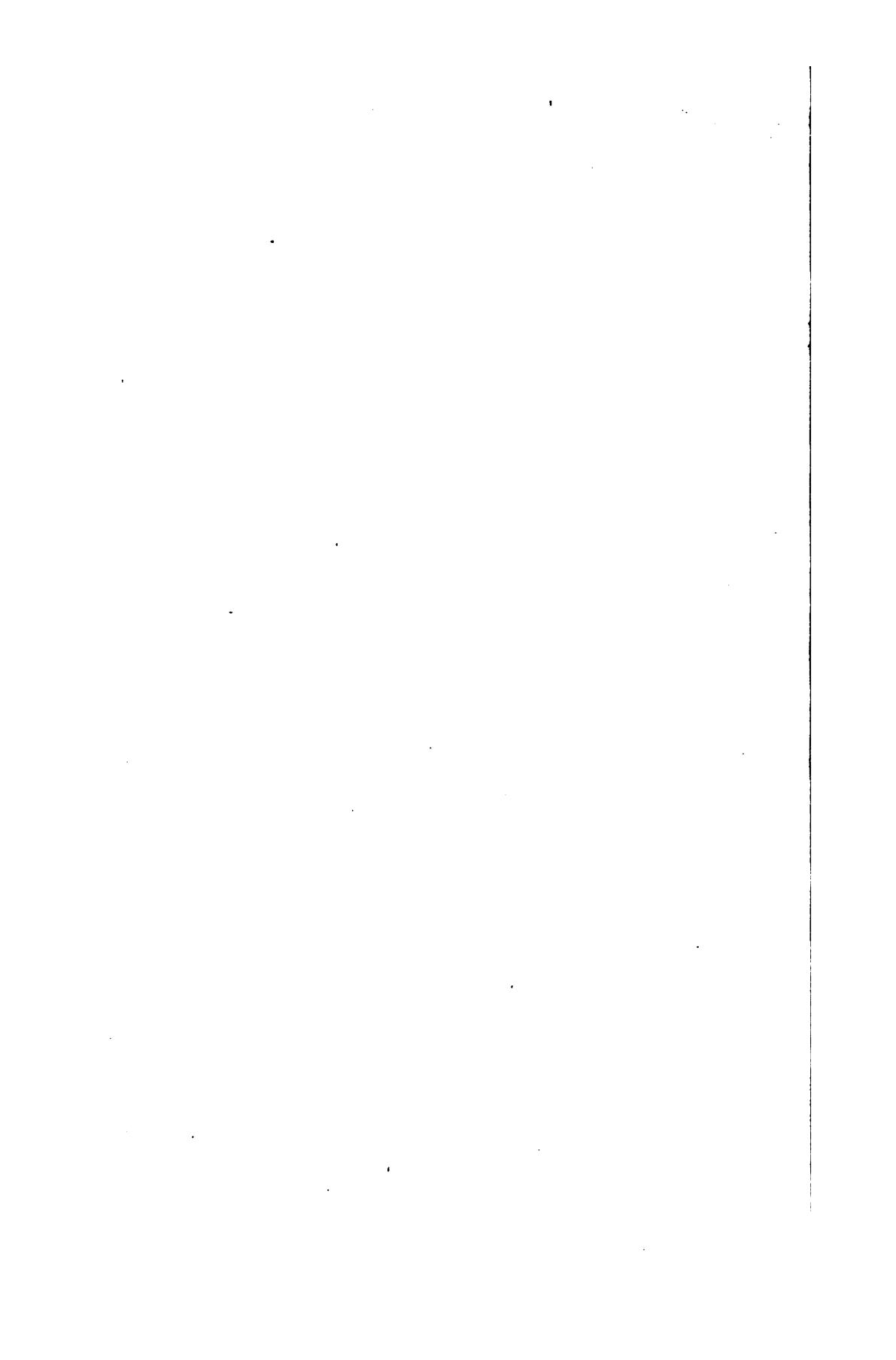
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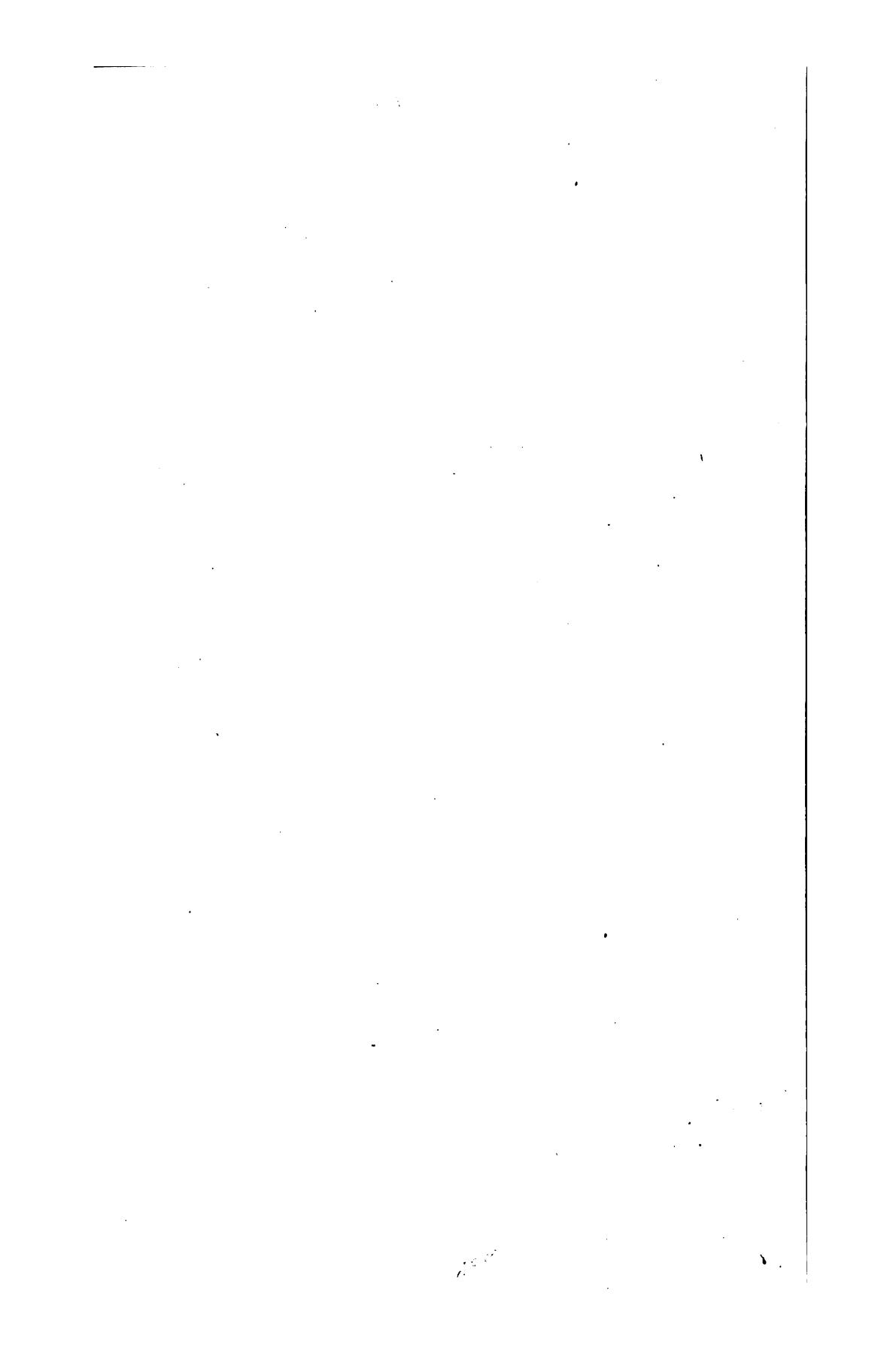


Sir William. Molesworth.





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ESCLAVITUD || **SLAVERY**
IN LA || IN THE
ISLA DE CUBA. || **ISLAND OF CUBA.**

(ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.)

MEMORIA
SOBRE LA
ESCLAVITUD EN LA ISLA DE CUBA,
CON
OBSERVACIONES
SOBRE LOS ASERTOS DE LA PRENSA INGLESA
RELATIVOS AL
TRÁFICO DE ESCLAVOS.

POR
DON MARIANO TORRENTE,

Ex-Diputado à Cortes; y Autor de un Bosquejo sobre el Estado Político y Económico de la
Isla de Cuba; de la Historia de la Revolución de la América-española; de una
Geografía universal, y de otras varias obras científicas y literarias.

Offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum.—TACITUS.

No temo el mal que me pueda sobrevenir cuando llevo
por norte la utilidad pública.

LONDRES:
IMPRENTA DE C. WOOD, 38, GRACECHURCH STREET.
1853.

SLAVERY IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA,

WITH
REMARKS
ON THE STATEMENTS OF THE BRITISH PRESS
RELATIVE TO
THE SLAVE TRADE.

BY
DON MARIANO TORRENTE,

Late Member of the Spanish Parliament; Author of a Sketch of the Political and Economical State of the Island of Cuba; History of the Revolution of Spanish-America; Universal Geography; and other Scientific and Literary Works.

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Offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum.—TACITUS.

I fear not the harm that may befall me when public utility is the north-star by which I am guided.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. WOOD, 38, GRACECHURCH STREET.

1853.

ADVERTENCIA PRELIMINAR.

ESCITADO por la prensa inglesa á contestar á ciertos cargos completamente desprovistos de fundamento, dirigidos contra el Gobierno español y contra las autoridades de Cuba, he creido de mi deber aceptar este reto ; pero como la cuestion de esclavitud, y todos sus incidentes ofrecen ámplia materia á la discusion, he considerado que no seria fácil desarrollar dignamente mi pensamiento en artículos sueltos de los periódicos ; por lo cual he resuelto publicar una Memoria en la que puedan hallarse reunidos todos los datos necesarios para ilustrar dicha cuestion en todas sus fases.

Aunque no entra en mis principios faltar al respeto que se debe á los tratados, ni abogar por la continuacion del tráfico de esclavos, que quisiera ver concluido de una vez para siempre, no soy tan rigorista que me adhiera á los que exigen condiciones imposibles, ó de muy difícil realizacion, mayormente cuando se ofrecen medios naturales y racionales que produzcan igual efecto sin la menor violencia, y sin el mas pequeño inconveniente.

El objeto culminante de este trabajo es el de disipar los errores y rectificar la opinion tan estraviada por ignorancia de algunos y por malicia de otros, y proponer al mismo tiempo los medios de que se cumplan los deseos del pueblo inglés, tan interesado en la total supresion del referido tráfico de esclavos.

Para que esta produccion literaria fuera desempeñada con el debido lucimiento, seria necesario mas tiempo del que yo puedo destinar á la meditacion que exige ; mas espero que el público será bastante indulgente para disimular la incorreccion de que debe resentirse á causa de la precipitacion con que la he redactado, para no tener largo tiempo suspenso su juicio en la aclaracion de varios puntos que ofrecen el mas vivo interés e importancia.

La primera parte de la Memoria ha sido redactada durante la travesía de la Habana á Southampton ; y la segunda durante mi corta permanencia en esta capital.

~
Lino
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PRELIMINARY ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING been incited by the English Press to answer certain charges utterly void of foundation, directed against the Government of Spain and the Cuban authorities, I have considered it my duty to accept the challenge ; but as the question of slavery and its incidents afford very ample scope for discussion, I have considered that it would not be easy to develop my ideas with propriety in separate articles in the newspapers ; and hence I have resolved to publish a Memoir, embracing all the requisite data for the illustration of this question in all its phases.

Nothing is further from my principles than to be wanting in the respect due to treaties, or to plead for a continuance of the Slave Trade, which, personally, I should like to see abolished for ever ; nevertheless, I am not so inflexible as to unite with those who would impose conditions extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to be granted, when natural and rational means are at hand, which would produce the same effects without the slightest violence, and without the least inconvenience.

The chief object of this work is to dissipate errors, and to rectify opinions so misled through the ignorance of some and the malice of others, and to suggest, at the same time, the means for fulfilling the desires of the English people, so interested in the total suppression of the Slave Trade.

In order to execute this literary task with proper brilliancy, more time would be requisite than I could devote to meditation, and I therefore trust the public will be indulgent enough to excuse the incorrectness that must necessarily result from the precipitation with which I have composed it, principally to avoid keeping their judgment longer in suspense as regards the explanation of sundry points of the liveliest interest and importance.

The first part of the Memoir was composed during my transit from Havana to Southampton ; and the second during my brief sojourn in this capital.

MEMORIA.

PRIMERA PARTE.

HABRA doce años que se suscitó entre los gobiernos español é inglés un empeñado debate sobre la cuestión negrera, el cual si no se hubiera cortado oportunamente, habría destruido por sus cimientos la isla de Cuba. Tratábase de que se declarasen emancipados todos los negros introducidos en la citada isla desde 1820, medida que al parecer fué sugerida ó fomentada á lo menos por el fanático consul, Mr. Turnbull, apóstol furioso de la propaganda abolicionista.

El Gobierno británico, que no siempre ha sido tan noble y generoso como fuera de esperar de su elevada importancia política para no imponer onerosas condiciones sobre pueblos angustiados por discordias domésticas ó estrañas; el gobierno británico se aprovechó de la decadencia de España bajo el reinado del Señor D. Fernando VII para arrancar del ministro Pizarro, contrariando los intereses y la voluntad nacional, la firma del tratado de 1817, en el que quedó prohibido el tráfico negrero, principiado en la isla de Cuba por los mismos ingleses, y continuado por los españoles como una necesidad para el desarrollo de su industria agrícola.*

* Aunque en esta Memoria ha sido preciso pintar con sus colores naturales, tal vez demasiado vivos, la historia de los hechos, no es mi ánimo lastimar de modo alguno la dignidad de la nación inglesa, hacia la cual me inclinan las mayores simpatías, y cuando pocos hay que sepan apreciar en tan alto grado sus virtudes, mediando asimismo otras razones muy poderosas que ligan fuertemente mi voluntad, cuales son las de haber estado empleado en el ejército anglo-luso-hispano en mi primera juventud, y durante el último periodo de la Guerra de la Independencia, á las órdenes del Comisario Gene-

M E M O I R.

PART I.

TWELVE years ago an animated debate arose between the Spanish and English Governments relative to the Slave Trade, and which, but for a fortunate termination, would have destroyed the Island of Cuba to its very foundation. An endeavour was made to declare the emancipation of all the negroes imported into that island since 1820—a measure which appears to have been suggested, or at least promoted, by the fanatic Consul Mr. Turnbull, a violent apostle of the abolition propagandists.

The British Government, which (being noble and generous as becomes its elevated political importance) ought not to impose onerous conditions on nations distracted by domestic and foreign discords, took advantage of the decline of Spain, under the reign of Ferdinand VII, to wrest from the minister Pizarro, contrary to the interest and will of that country, the signing of the treaty of 1817, in which the Slave Trade was prohibited, and which had been commenced in the island of Cuba by the English themselves, and continued by the Spaniards as a necessity for the developement of their agricultural industry.*

* Although in the present Memoir it is requisite to paint in its true, and perhaps too vivid colours, the relation of facts, it is not my intention to wound in any way the self-respect of the English nation, towards which I entertain the strongest sympathy, from a high appreciation of its virtues, as well as for other very powerful reasons which strongly bind it to my affections, such as the circumstance of my having been employed in the Anglo-Portuguese-Spanish army during the early part of my life, and the latter period of the War of Independence, under the orders of Commissary-General Sir Robert

No satisfecho todavía el gabinete de San Jaime con este primer triunfo, exigió, y obtuvo en 1835, al favor de las apuradas circunstancias de la guerra civil, y la necesidad que teníamos de auxilios para resistir al torrente carlista, ampliaciones al referido tratado, sumamente vejaminosas á nuestro decoro, cuales fueron el derecho ilimitado de visita, y las de considerar como buena presa, todo buque que se encontrase con maderas y utensilios superiores al uso ordinario de la tripulación, así como la promulgación de una severa ley penal contra los transgresores.

Todavía no bastaban estas concesiones á los ingleses, los cuales no perdiendo de vista su sistema de sacar partido de determinadas situaciones, entablaron en 1841 la absurda reclamación que acaba de indicarse al principio de esta Memoria, figurándose que el Regente del reino no tendría resolución y firmeza para oponerse á la soberana voluntad de un gobierno que había llegado á creer que podría ejercer una influencia decisiva, atendidas las especiales circunstancias que mediaban entonces, y que fuera inútil recordar.

Negociaciones obligadas, lisonjeras promesas, amistosos compromisos, y por último duras y severas amenazas, fueron los recursos de que echó mano el gobierno británico para lograr su intento. Tal vez nunca se ha visto más apurada la España que en la citada época, ¡tan duros y tan esforzados fueron los ataques que se dirigieron contra la isla de Cuba! Los ministros de la Regencia, no menos honrados caballeros que buenos patricios; ya que no podían rechazar de frente estas porfiadas exigencias, se

ral Sir Roberto Kennedy, haciendo las funciones de comisario de guerra, como consta por los honoríficos certificados de mis buenos servicios, firmados por el referido Sir Roberto Kennedy, y por el comisario de la sexta división inglesa, Mr. Dobree, que conservo como un título de nobleza. También media la razón de gratitud por haber disfrutado, en 1824, en esta tierra hospitalaria el amparo y protección que se dispensa á los emigrados por opiniones de partidos.

Empero sabido es que en política son admisibles algunos actos que chocarían en la vida privada, mayormente en un pueblo que tanto se distingue por sus sentimientos de caballerosidad, moralidad y beneficencia.

The Cabinet of St. James, not satisfied with this first triumph, demanded and obtained in 1835, through the perplexing circumstances of the civil war, and the necessity we were under of receiving assistance to resist the Carlist aggression, additions to the aforementioned treaty, which were exceedingly onerous and opposed to our dignity; such as the unlimited right of search, and the considering as a lawful prize, every ship found with planks and utensils beyond the ordinary use of the crew; as also the promulgation of a severe penal law against the transgressors.

Still these concessions were not sufficient for the English, who, never losing sight of the system of taking advantage of peculiar situations, set up, in 1841, the absurd claim which has just been indicated at the beginning of this Memoir, imagining that the Regent of the kingdom would not have the resolution and firmness to oppose the sovereign will of a government, which had been led to believe that it could exercise a decisive influence, considering the special circumstances subsisting at that time, and which it would be useless to recapitulate.

Obligatory negotiations, flattering promises, friendly engagements, and finally, hard and severe threats were the means resorted to by the British Government to accomplish its end. Perhaps Spain was never more embarrassed than at that time; so powerful and so violent were the attacks which were directed against the island of Cuba! The ministers of the regency, who were gentlemen no less honorable than patriotic, finding that they could no longer openly oppose these stubborn demands,

Kennedy, when I discharged the duties of commissary of war, as proved by the honorary certificates of my good services, signed by Sir Robert Kennedy and by the Commissary of the sixth English division Mr. Dobree, and which I preserve as a title of nobility. I have, moreover, every reason to be grateful for having enjoyed, in 1824, in this hospitable land, the refuge and protection accorded to all emigrants for party political opinions.

It is a well known fact, however, that certain things are admissible in politics that would be improper in private life, more especially in a nation so distinguished for its sentiments of gentlemanly demeanour, morality, and beneficence.

valieron de giros diplomáticos para resistir un plan tan ruinoso sin quebrantar los lazos de amistad y fina correspondencia.

Entónces fué cuando tomé yo la tribuna, y en varios discursos é interpelaciones al Gobierno, me esforzé en ilustrar esta cuestión, y en atravesar aquellos hostiles designios; y no contento con estos primeros desahogos de mi puro patriotismo, y deseando reunir en un cuerpo de doctrina todos los argumentos y datos en que fundaba mi oposición, muchos de los cuales había presentado ya al juicio del público en artículos de periódicos, y en discursos al parlamento, redacté una Memoria que fué impresa á fines de 1841, y repartida con profusión.

El Gobierno inglés debió encontrar bastante persuasivos y convincentes dichos argumentos, cuando suspendió todos sus procedimientos, y desistió completamente de su empeño, lo cual no fué poco triunfo para el nuestro, que por este medio se vió libre de un cuidado tan grave y de tanto compromiso.

Desde aquella época limitaron los ingleses sus pretensiones á la observancia de los antedichos tratados, mezclando de vez en cuando sus quejas contra las autoridades de Cuba, por suponerlas, si no conniventes, á lo menos muy apáticas y descuidadas en impedir la importación de esclavos. Empero nunca han sido tan tenaces, ni tan violentas sus reclamaciones como en estos últimos tiempos, ya que después de haber llenado de denuestos el nombre español, se ha llegado hasta á amenazar en el parlamento y por la prensa, con retirar el apoyo y alianza que ofrecieran á la España para defender la isla de Cuba de invasiones piráticas, y de toda otra clase de agresión; amenazas acompañadas de cargos los mas injuriosos á la par que injustos.

Hé aquí lo que en la actualidad me induce á redactar esta segunda Memoria, en la cual me propongo — 1º. Vindicar la nación española de tan intempestivos ultrajes, fijando la cuestión negrera en su verdadero punto de vista. 2º. Demostrar los crasos errores en que han incurrido los políticos ingleses, llevándose de encuentro sin fruto alguno sus intereses materiales.

availed themselves of diplomatic resources, in order to resist so ruinous a plan without rending the ties of friendship and polite correspondence.

It was then that I took the matter up in Parliament, and in several speeches and interpellations to the Government, endeavoured to throw a light upon this question, and thwart those hostile designs; and, not content with these first outpourings of my pure patriotic feelings, wishing to collect into one mass of doctrine all the arguments and data on which my opposition was founded, many of which I had already presented to the judgment of the public in newspaper articles and in parliamentary discourses, I composed a *Memoir* which was printed towards the latter period of 1841, and extensively circulated.

The English Government must have found those arguments sufficiently persuasive and convincing when it suspended all its proceedings, and completely desisted from its design, and which was no small triumph for us, who by this means were freed from so grave a care, and so severe a compromise.

From that period the English limited their pretensions to the observance of the aforementioned treaties, from time to time mingling complaints against the authorities of Cuba, supposing them to be conniving at, or at least displaying great apathy and carelessness in the prevention of the importation of slaves; yet they have never been so tenacious, nor have their complaints ever been so violent as of late, when after having covered the Spanish name with ignominy, they have even gone so far as to threaten in Parliament, and through the medium of the Press, to withdraw the support and alliance which they offered to Spain for the defence of the island of Cuba from piratical invasion, and of every other kind of aggression, which threats were accompanied by charges as unjust as they were injurious.

This, then, is the motive for my now writing this second *Memoir*, in which I propose—1st. To vindicate the Spanish nation from such intemperate outrages, by representing the question of slavery in its proper light. 2nd. To demonstrate the extreme errors into which English politicians have fallen, by fruitlessly compromising their own material interests. 3rd. To unfold the

3º. Desenvolver las razones que se ofrecen para juzgar que la cuestión filantrópica de esclavitud ha ido tomando un sesgo diferente de su primitivo objeto ostensible. 4º. Hacer ver á la Inglaterra que la nación española tiene demasiado pundonor y dignidad para aceptar beneficios que le sean dispensados ú ofrecidos con desdoro, y que no carece de medios para rechazar toda exigencia irracional que se promueva contra la justicia de sus derechos. 5º y último. Proponer el único medio de salvar todos los inconvenientes que arrojar debe esta delicada cuestión, la cual podría concluir por alterar la buena inteligencia, que deseó subsistía siempre entre los dos gobiernos español e inglés.

La cuestión negrera pudo ser en un tiempo de principios humanitarios y filantrópicos, pudo bien tener su origen en sentimientos de moralidad y de justicia; mas ya en el día ha tomado otra dirección, y esta dirección es la especulativa ó la política.

Asustadas algunas almas sensibles al solo nombre de cautiverio y esclavitud, sin duda por tener muy presentes las mazmorras de Túnez y Argel; y concediendo gratuitamente al salvaje africano toda la dignidad que debe tener el hombre, clamaron contra el tráfico de carne humana, que se presentaba á su vista con los colores más negros y repugnantes. La apelación que se hizo á la beneficencia de las personas nobles y generosas no podía menos de hallar eco en toda la Europa; así que se formó una especie de cruzada para despedazar las cadenas de esta parte tan degradada del género humano, y á su frente se colocó la Inglaterra. No pocos gobiernos que estaban acostumbrados á medir las tendencias y política de esta nación por el predominante principio utilitario, desconfiaron ó pusieron en duda la sinceridad de sus protestas; pero el español, que fué el que seguramente vió con más claridad esta cuestión, resistió la propaganda hasta donde le fué posible. Cedió por fin al torrente irresistible de la opinión, ó mas bien á los reiterados esfuerzos del gabinete británico, aunque estuviera muy distante de creer que los sacrificios que se la impusieran habían de tener una racional compensación.

La experiencia ha acreditado que no solo eran ilusorios los cálculos de los abolicionistas, sino que han sido sumamente

reasons that suggest themselves as proof, that the philanthropic question of slavery has gradually deviated from its ostensible primitive object. 4th. To show England that the Spanish nation has too much honour and dignity to accept benefits dispensed or offered with dishonour; and that it is not deficient in the means of rejecting all irrational demands, which may be instituted against the justice of its rights. 5th, and lastly. To propose the only means of avoiding all the inconveniences that may arise on this delicate question, and which, in the end, might alter the good understanding, which, I trust, will ever subsist between the Governments of Spain and England.

The question of slavery, might once have been based upon humane and philanthropic principles, or might have originated in sentiments of morality and justice; but, at the present day it has taken another direction, and this direction is speculative or political.

Some sensitive minds, frightened at the very name of captivity and slavery, doubtless connecting it with recollections of the dungeons of Tunis and Algiers, and gratuitously conceding to the African savage all the dignity to which man can attain, clamoured against the traffic in human flesh, which appeared in their eyes in its blackest and most repugnant colours. The appeal made to the beneficence of all noble and generous people could not fail to find an echo throughout all Europe, and thus a sort of crusade with England at its head was formed, for the purpose of bursting the bonds of this degraded portion of the human race. Many governments, who were accustomed to measure the course and policy of this nation by the predominant principles of self-interest, distrusted or doubted the sincerity of its protestations; but the Spanish, who, of all others, saw this question in its clearest light, resisted the propagandists as far as possible. It yielded at last, however, to the irresistible current of opinion, or rather the repeated efforts of the British cabinet, although far from believing that reasonable compensation would be awarded for the sacrifices imposed.

Experience has proved that the calculations of the abolitionists were not only illusory, but that the results of their first triumphs

fatales los resultados de sus primeros triunfos. Creyeron aquellos y acaso con la mejor intencion y el mas santo celo, lo cual no es mi ánimo poner en duda, que abolida la esclavitud serian mas felices las tribus salvajes en su cuna, y mas ilustrados, laboriosos y morigerados los negros de las colonias desde el momento en que se les emancipase. Completo ha sido su malogro en ambas acepciones !

Las tribus africanas no han desistido de sus belicosos instintos, ni de sus hábitos rapaces y sanguinarios : el estado continuo de guerra, en que se hallan aquellos pueblos, gobernados por una larga serie de caciques independientes unos de otros, demasiado débiles para establecer un sólido dominio, aunque bastante fuertes para despedazarse en sus desesperados combates, hace bajo este punto de vista necesaria la estraccion de sus prisioneros, porque á no tener esta salida lucrativa para los vencedores, serian degollados desapiadadamente todos los vencidos. Esto es lo que se ha visto practicar con mas fiereza en el tiempo en que se llevaba con todo rigor la prohibicion absoluta de esportar dichos cautivos, y lo que se hará siempre á no dudarlo. *

* Para que no se crea que estas son utópias, ó cálculos gratuitos, referiré lo que he oido de los labios de D. Francisco Soler, rico hacendado de la isla de Puerto Rico, "que hallándose en 1829 en la costa de Calabar viejo, vió degollar 4,190 prisioneros, cuando el cacique, titulado duque de Calabar viejo se convenció de que no había medio de venderlos; y reconvenido por el comandante de un buque inglés, surto en aquellas aguas, por una acción tan inhumana, replicó que haría lo mismo con cuantos cayeran en sus manos, porque estando envuelto en interminables guerras con sus vecinos, no le era posible mantener, y mucho menos soltar á sus cautivos, y que no le quedaba mas recurso que degollarlos, ya que no se le permitía echarlos fuera del país de cualquier modo que fuese."

Solo en esta parte del Calabar y de Benin se hace subir á mas de 30,000 el número de negros sacrificados desde 1827 hasta el dia. Igual sistema se ha practicado por los demás reyezuelos de las estensas costas africanas cuando no encuentran quien los desembarace de aquellos enemigos poniéndolos en disposición de que nunca puedan volver á esgrimir sus vengadoras armas contra ellos. Se estremece la humanidad al pensar en la carnicería que se está haciendo en Africa desde que la filantropía europea ha querido llevar su influencia á aquellas playas !!!

have been lamentable in the extreme. They believed, and, perhaps, with the best intentions and the most holy zeal, and which it is not my wish to question, that on the abolition of slavery, the savage tribes would be more happy in their cradles; and that the negroes of the colonies would be more enlightened, more laborious, and more moralized, as soon as the decree of their emancipation was gone forth. How complete has been their disappointment in both cases!

The African tribes have not desisted from their warlike instincts, nor from their rapacious and sanguinary habits. The continual state of war in which that people are engaged, owing to their being governed by a long series of chiefs each independent of the other, and too weak to establish a solid dominion although strong enough to mix in their desperate combats, renders the exportation of their prisoners necessary under this point of view, as but for such a lucrative means of their disposal, the conquerors would mercilessly slay all the conquered. This has been known to be carried into effect with the utmost ferocity during the time that the prohibition of the export of such captives was most rigorously enforced, and which will undoubtedly be the course still pursued.*

* In order to prove that these are not chimerical or gratuitous inferences, I will relate what I have heard from the lips of D. Francisco Soler, a rich landowner in the island of Puerto Rico, who "finding himself, in 1829, on the coast of Old Calabar, saw 4190 prisoners murdered, when the chief, who was named the Duke of Old Calabar, became convinced that there was no chance of selling them; and being remonstrated with by the commander of an English vessel anchored in those waters for such an inhuman action, replied, that he should do the same with all that might fall into his hands, because, being involved in endless wars with his neighbours, he could not keep his captives, nor could he, of course, release them; and that killing them was consequently his only resource, since he was no longer at liberty to send them out of the country in any way."

In this part of Calabar, and Benin alone, the number of negroes sacrificed since 1827, up to the present time, amounts to more than 30,000. The same system has been pursued by other petty kings of the extensive shores of Africa, when they have been unable to find any one to relieve them of their prisoners, in order that they might never more turn their avenging arms against them. Humanity shudders at the contemplation of the butchery carried on in Africa, since European philanthropy has endeavoured to carry its influence to those regions !!!

Pesen pues los abolicionistas en la balanza de su humanidad, si esta se halla mejor consultada dejando que se deguellen con残酷 los prisioneros, ó bien dándoles salida para las colonias, en las que reciben un trato cordial, se les instruye en la religion cristiana, y se les arranca de su vida brutal y salvaje, convirtiéndolos en hombres útiles á la sociedad y á si mismos. La prueba mas positiva que puede aducirse de lo que ganan con este cambio, aunque sea con la horripilante nota de esclavos, es que ninguno de ellos se acuerda de su pais nativo, porque acostumbrados á la vida civilizada, y á los goces que esta proporciona, aun en su estado de esclavitud, de que tanto se lamentan sus mas celosos defensores, no conservan deseo alguno de volver á su antigua vida errante, insegura, miserable y llena de quebrantos.

Para que estos pueblos tuviesen algun apego á su primitiva condicion seria preciso que los abolicionistas se dedicasen á derramar su benefica influencia sobre su misma cuna; mejor dicho, habria sido mucho mas ventajoso y mas humanitario haber gastado en la civilizacion de aquellas tribus las inmensas sumas que se han invertido en la persecucion del trafico, y en la funesta emancipacion de los esclavos de las Antillas.

Contrayéndome por ahora al primer extremo de mi disertacion, fijaré la cuestion negrera con respecto á la isla de Cuba en su verdadero punto de vista. Cualesquiera que sean los giros y repliegues que á dicha cuestion se la quiere dar, sacaremos siempre por conclusion que es un contrabando, y que como contrabando debe tratarse. En mi primera Memoria emití franca y lealmente mi opinion favorable á la observancia de los tratados vigentes. Aunque me lamentaba de los horrores que estaba causando en Africa la supresion de la trata, aunque consideraba que era un perjuicio para nuestras Antillas la privacion de brazos útiles, sin embargo como hombre de gobierno y de probidad politica, dije entonces y ahora repito, que no se deben quebrantar los compromisos que mas ó menos espontaneamente, con mayor ó menor oportunidad, hubiera contraido nuestro gobierno con el británico.

Let the abolitionists, then, weigh in the balance of their humanity, whether this object is better obtained by allowing the prisoners to be cruelly murdered, or by permitting their removal to the colonies, where they would receive kind treatment and instruction in the Christian religion, and where they would be withdrawn from their brutal and savage life, and converted into men useful alike to society and to themselves. The most positive proof that can be adduced of the advantage of this exchange, albeit with the horrifying title of slavery, is the fact that none of the slaves sigh for their native country; for once accustomed to civilized life, and to the enjoyments they ever derive in such state of slavery, so pitied by their zealous defenders, they have no desire to return to their former roving, insecure, miserable, and unfortunate life.

In order to implant in these people a taste for their primitive condition, it would be necessary for the abolitionists to devote themselves to shedding their beneficent influence over their very cradles; or rather, it would have been more advantageous and humane to have applied to the civilization of those tribes the immense sums that have been spent in the persecution of the slave trade, and in the untoward emancipation of the slaves of the Antilles.

Confining myself, for the present, to the first part of my dissertation, I will place the slave question, as regards the island of Cuba, in its true point of view. Whatever may be the turns sought to be given to this question, the conclusion must ever be that it is smuggling; and as such it should be considered. In my first Memoir I stated frankly and loyally my favourable opinion as to the observance due to the treaties in force. Although I bewailed the horrors which the suppression of the trade gave rise to in Africa, although I considered that our Antilles were injured by being deprived of useful hands, nevertheless, as a statesman and a person of political probity, I said then, and repeat now, that the engagements entered into between our Government and the British Cabinet, whether willingly and opportunely or otherwise, should never be infringed or broken.

Empero de ejercer dicha observancia por los medios comunes, que es lo que se está haciendo, á aplicar otros extraordinarios y costosos, como quisieran los abolicionistas, hay una diferencia inmensa. Un exceso de oficiosidad de parte nuestra, cual sería el de emplear nuestras escuadras y nuestras tropas en la persecucion del citado contrabando, no puede pretenderse razonablemente.

Seria una demencia distraer dichas escuadras y tropas de su principal mision, que es la de defender la isla contra enemigos esteriores, y de mantener el órden en el interior, y para qué? Para acabar con un contrabando que lejos de perjudicarnos, nos favorece en alto grado. Harto grande es el sacrificio que se hace á los intereses materiales de la isla con el simple cumplimiento de la obligacion que se impuso la España cuando firmó los mencionados tratados. Que la Inglaterra, que tanto empeño e interés tiene en la destruccion del referido contrabando, lo persiga enhorabuena cubriendo los mares con sus buques de guerra, contando siempre con el apoyo y cooperacion que no dejarán de prestarle las autoridades de Cuba sacrificando la conveniencia pública al respeto que se debe á los formales compromisos del supremo Gobierno. Mientras que el inglés emplee sus fuerzas en la enunciada persecucion, emplear debe las suyas con preferencia la España en estirpar el contrabando que hacen los súbditos ingleses sobre las costas de la Península, que asciende á muchos millones de duros, y arruina la industria nacional.

Esta doctrina, eminentemente conservadora, no podrá ser desechada por una nacion como la inglesa, que dirige todos los resortes de su política hacia la proteccion y aumento de sus intereses materiales. Y si la España, á pesar de sus inauditos esfuerzos no ha podido, ni puede con todas sus escuadras y resguardos, destruir dicho contrabando de productos ingleses, aunque sus ganancias sean comparativamente muy mezquinas, como ha de poderse acabar con el de los esclavos en la isla de Cuba, cuando ofrece un lucro que puede decirse fabuloso?

El Gobierno español está haciendo por su propio decoro mas de lo que puede exigirselo en rigor. Castigar á todo empleado

Yet there is a wide difference between exercising this observance with the common measures as at present, and the employment of others more extraordinary and costly as the abolitionists would desire, since it is unreasonable to claim from us an eagerness to employ our squadrons and troops to repress such smuggling.

It would be madness to take away these squadrons and troops from their principal mission, which is to defend the island from exterior enemies and maintain order in the country: and, for what purpose? to put an end to an illegal traffic, which, so far from injuring, benefits us in a high degree. Sufficiently great is the sacrifice made of the main interests of the island in the fulfilment of the engagements which Spain imposed upon herself when she signed the abovementioned treaties. Let England, since she is so interested in the annihilation of such smuggling, do all she pleases to stop it by covering the seas with her own ships of war, relying upon the support and co-operation that the authorities of Cuba will ever accord, sacrificing the public convenience to the respect due to the formal engagements of the supreme Government. Whilst England employs her force in this way, Spain should devote hers in preference to putting down the smuggling carried on by the English subjects on the shores of the Peninsula, and which amounts to many millions of dollars, to the ruin of the national industry.

This highly conservative doctrine cannot be rejected by a nation like the English, who direct all the resources of their politics to the protection and increase of their main interests. And if Spain, notwithstanding extraordinary efforts, has been and is still unable, with all its squadrons, troops, and preventive service to destroy the aforesaid smuggling of British goods, although the profits arising from it are comparatively very paltry, how can it put an end to the smuggling of slaves into the island of Cuba, which leaves a profit, the extent of which may be considered fabulous?

The Spanish Government is doing for its own decorum more than could strictly be required of it. The punishment of all

militar ó civil, á quien se justificare alguna connivencia con los traficantes negreros; apoderarse de todos los esclavos que al desembarcar caigan en manos de los agentes públicos, y someterlos al fallo de la *comision mista*,* vigilar las costas en cuanto lo permitan las preferentes obligaciones del servicio; formar causa por los tribunales competentes á los que resulten implicados en este comercio prohibido, y ejecutar los fallos de la ley; hé aquí á lo que únicamente obligan los tratados á nuestro Gobierno. Introducir comisiones inquisitoriales en las fincas para arrancar de ellas á los esclavos que hubieran sido introducidos fraudulentamente, sin embargo de que una clausula del tratado, apoyada en la ley de 1805, garantiza esta mercancía desde el momento en que ha pasado de la Aduana esterior, es decir desde que se ha introducido en las respectivas fincas, podrá ser una medida muy del agrado del Gobierno británico por su carácter de altamente oficiosa, y como prenda de buena fé por nuestra parte; pero no creo que esté bien consultada la conveniencia nacional, aunque no sea mi ánimo arrojar sobre sus autores aquella censura, que á primera vista aparece, porque indudablemente habrán mediado razones muy poderosas para haber tomado sobre su responsabilidad una estralimitacion que no dejó de sorprender al mismo Lord Clarendon, segun lo manifestó en su discurso parlamentario de 30 de Mayo último.

Y á un Gobierno, que para dar una prueba cierta de su verdadero empeño en observar los tratados que ha firmado, y no con poca repugnancia, hace oficiosamente mas de lo que el deber le impone, ¡no tiene en su mano armas bastante poderosas para confundir á los individuos de la Cámara Alta, que en la citada sesion de 30 de Mayo, llevados al parecer, de un desacordado celo, abdicando la prudencia con que deben manejarse los negocios públicos, y olvidando la dignidad y el decoro, con que debe hablarse de una gran Reina y de una gran nacion, descendieron de su alta posicion social para colocarse en la línea de los hom-

* Tribunal compuesto de jueces españoles é ingleses para decidir sobre la validez de las presas de esclavos.

officers, whether civil or military, who are convicted of any connivance with the slave traders; the seizure of all slaves who, upon their landing, fall into the hands of the public agents, subjecting them to the sentence of the *comision mista* ;* the watching of the coast as far as the preferential duties of the service will allow; the institution of proceedings by the proper courts against all parties proved to be implicated in this forbidden traffic, and the execution of the sentences of the law, are the only obligations imposed upon our Government by the treaties. The introduction of inquisitorial commissions into the various estates for the purpose of wresting from the owners thereof such slaves as may have been fraudulently imported, notwithstanding there being a clause in the treaty, supported by the law of 1805, which guarantees such merchandize from the moment of its passing the frontier Custom House, *i. e.* from their arrival at the respective plantations, may be a measure very pleasing to the British Government, as highly officious, and a pledge, moreover, of good faith on our part; but I do not think that the national interests are well consulted, although it may not be my intention to cast upon its authors that censure which, at first sight, appears to be deserved, because very powerful reasons must undoubtedly have operated to induce them to incur the responsibility of an excess, which even surprised Lord Clarendon himself, as he said in his speech in Parliament on the 30th of May last.

And a Government which, in order to give a positive proof of its earnest determination to abide by the treaties it has signed, although not without reluctance, performs officiously more than its duty requires, has surely in its hands sufficient arms to confute those individuals of the Upper House, who, on the aforesaid sitting of the 30th of May—carried away, as it would appear by mistaken zeal, deviating from the prudence with which public business should be managed, and forgetting the dignity and decorum with which a great Queen and a great nation should be spoken of—descended from their high social position to place

* This is a tribunal composed of English and Spanish judges, who decide as to the validity of the slave captures.

bres apasionados y violentos? Felizmente para la Inglaterra son muy pocos los hombres públicos que se dejen arrebatar de un ardor tan destemplado, y que se propasen á declamaciones tan injustas como intempestivas al tratar de negocios graves de suma delicadeza é importancia, en los que están interesadas naciones, cuya amistad no conviene de modo alguno á la Inglaterra enagenarse.

Si el Gobierno de S. M. B. no hubiera dado en la misma sesion por boca de su ministro Lord Clarendon las explicaciones necesarias para dejar en la elevada esfera en que debe siempre hallarse nuestro honor nacional, así como para vindicar á la primera autoridad de Cuba de las envenenadas flechas que le lanzaron sin el menor fundamento los individuos á quienes aludo, se hallaria la España con derecho de exigir una satisfaccion competente, y la exigirian con doble razon los interesados en las referencias injuriosas de un debate, tan torpe como intempestivamente suscitado.

El segundo extremo de este escrito, que bien merece empeñar la atencion pública, versará sobre el modo tan erroneo con que los ingleses han considerado la cuestion de esclavitud. Segun hemos indicado en el preámbulo de este trabajo, la abolicion de la esclavitud tuvo el origen mas puro, y el mas santo. La tendencia que hay en el gran gremio de la cristiandad europea á mejorar la especie humana por el lado moral y religioso, ha dado lugar á la creacion de infinitas sociedades de educacion y de beneficencia; y al anunciarlse la de la *anti-esclava*, no pudo menos de hallar generales simpatias. Así pues nada tiene de extraño que esta sociedad *Anti-esclava* se lanzase á la propagacion de sus doctrinas con el mismo ardor y entusiasmo que la sociedad Bíblica, y que incurriese en graves errores, como incurre necesariamente el que quiere sacrificar á un principio todas sus consecuencias.

Se figuraron los mas ardientes entusiastas de la abolicion que con las firmas de un tratado quedaria protocolizada la cuestion africana; que cesando la introduccion de esclavos en América quedaria asegurada la felicidad de aquellas tribus salvajes, y que

themselves on a level with excited and violent men. Happily for England few public men allow themselves to be borne away by such intemperate ardour, and who proceed to declamations as unjust as unreasonable in the discussion of affairs of gravity, delicacy, and importance, in which are interested nations whose friendship it is in nowise convenient for England to alienate.

If her Britannic Majesty's Government had not afforded during the same sitting, through the medium of its minister Lord Clarendon, the explanations requisite for leaving our national honour in the high sphere it should always retain, as well as for vindicating the first authority of Cuba from the poisoned darts hurled at him without the slightest foundation by the individuals to whom I allude, Spain would have the right to demand proper satisfaction, and the same would be required with double reason by the parties interested in a debate as foolishly as unseasonably promoted.

The second point of this publication, and which well deserves to engage the public attention, will refer to the very mistaken manner in which the English have considered the question of slavery. As we have pointed out in the preliminary part of this work, the abolition of slavery had the most pure and holy source. The tendency, observable in the great body of European Christianity to improve the human race in a moral and religious view, has given rise to the establishment of an infinite number of beneficent and educational societies; and the anti-slavery one, when announced, could not do otherwise than meet with general sympathy. It is, therefore, by no means to be wondered at that this Anti-slavery Society should devote itself to the propagation of its doctrines with the same ardour and enthusiasm as the Bible Society, and that it should have fallen into the sad errors necessarily incurred by those who wish to sacrifice all consequences to a single principle.

The most ardent enthusiasts of abolition imagined that the signing of a treaty would at once settle the African question; that on the cessation of the importation of slaves into America, the felicity of those savage tribes would be secured, and that

emancipando todos los esclavos residentes en las colonias, habrian ganado un gran triunfo la humanidad y la religion, la civilizacion y aun la riqueza publica. ¿Y cual ha sido el resultado de estas impremeditadas combinaciones, en que con tan brillantes colores se quiso hacer resaltar el celo filantrópico? Primero, que las tribus africanas han empeorado horrorosamente de condicion, como que están mas que nunca sumergidas en su grosera idolatría; sus guerras son mas tenaces é inhumanas; y corre á torrentes la sangre de los prisioneros, los cuales son inmolados á millares del modo mas despiadado. ¿Y no fuera mejor calculado que esas víctimas del furor y de la barbarie las salvára el comercio europeo de buena fé, ya que los abolicionistas no han encontrado los medios de evitar tales horrores? ¿Y no sería mas moral, mas religioso y mas benéfico convertir en hombres útiles á la sociedad á los que por la misma propaganda, y aunque tal no sea su objeto, han sido condenados á vivir y morir en su miserable degradación? Y por violento, por odioso y repugnante que sea el estado de esclavitud ¿no ha de ser preferible á la vida salvaje de aquellos pueblos, mayormente cuando por las leyes que rigen en la actualidad, y aun por la misma persuasión y conveniencia de los dueños de dichos esclavos, tienen asegurado un trato mas dulce, y una vida mas tranquila, mas desahogada y mas feliz que la mayor parte de los proletarios de la vieja Europa, que mueren á millares por falta de los auxilios necesarios, desgracia que nunca alcanza á los esclavos, los cuales nadan en la abundancia proporcionada á su clase, y se enriquecen los mas aplicados aprovechando el terreno y el tiempo que les otorga el dueño para trabajar por su cuenta; y que ademas son asistidos en sus enfermedades y en su vejez con el mas esmerado celo?

Veamos ahora lo que han ganado en el cambio de situación los esclavos de las colonias que han pasado á la clase de emancipados. Los negros de Jamaica, por ser los mas numerosos, como que no bajarán de 350 mil, ademas de 100 mil mulatos, son los primeros que deben tomarse en cuenta para formar sobre ellos comparaciones oportunas. No repetiré lo que dejé bien consignado en mi primera Memoria, y que ratifico en esta del

by the emancipation of all the slaves resident in the colonies, a great triumph would be gained for humanity, religion, civilization, and even public wealth. And what has been the result of these unpremeditated combinations, in which it was sought to show forth philanthropic zeal in such brilliant colours? First, the condition of the African tribes has become horribly worse, since they are more than ever immersed in their gross idolatry; their wars are more obstinate and inhuman; and the blood of prisoners, immolated by thousands in the most pitiless manner, runs in torrents.

Would it not be a wiser plan for these victims of fury and barbarism to be saved by honest European commerce, since the abolitionists have not found means of preventing such horrors? And would it not be more moral, more religious, and more beneficial to convert into useful members of society those men, who through this very propagandism (although such may not be its object) are condemned to live and die in their wretched degradation? And however violent, odious, or repugnant may be the state of slavery, must it not be preferable to the savage life of those people, more especially when in accordance with the laws at present in force, and even upon moral conviction, as well as for the interests of the owners of the said slaves, they are secured a better treatment, and a more tranquil, more careless and happy life than falls to the lot of the working classes of old Europe, who die by thousands for want of the necessary support; a misfortune which can never reach the slaves who live in the midst of the abundance suited to their station, and the more industrious of whom become rich by making use of the ground and time allowed by their owners for cultivation on their own account; and who, moreover, are attended in sickness and in old age with the most lively zeal?

Let us now see what has been gained in the exchange of situations by those slaves of the colonies who have been transferred to the condition of "*emancipados*" or freemen. The negroes of Jamaica, being the most numerous, (amounting to some 350,000, besides 100,000 mulattoes), are the first who should be taken into account, in order to enable us to form thereby proper comparisons. I will not repeat what I have stated so

modo mas absoluto ; pero para que no se me crea por mi solo juicio, copiaré algunos de los conceptos emitidos por Sir C. E. Grey, gobernador de dicha isla, en sus despachos de 26 de Junio de 1852 á Sir J. S. Parkington, Ministro de las Colonias en el Gabinete Británico, publicadas por la Revista del mismo mes.

Por dichos despachos, que no pueden ser de modo alguno sospechosos, ni considerarse como armas de los enemigos de Inglaterra, quedará plenamente probado el error político que cometió el Gobierno inglés al firmar la emancipacion de los esclavos de sus colonias. Al hablar de la decadencia de aquella isla dice, “ que la atribuye á dos causas, á saber, á la introduccion del trabajo forzado, y á la precipitada y mal aconsejada emancipacion, cuya ultima medida dejó sin brazos el cultivo, destruyendo politica y civilmente la antigua posicion de las razas. Habrá unos veinte años,” añade, “ que tuvo efecto la citada emancipacion habiendo quedado los esclavos dueños de sí mismos en medio de tierras fértiles é inocupadas, y con todas las facilidades para apoderarse de ellas. ¿ Puede sorprender á nadie el natural desenlace de que no se encuentre en la isla la suma de trabajo constante, requerido por el cultivo provechoso, que antes se obtenia por la esclavitud, y que no haya ahora hábitos de orden y subordinacion entre el pueblo? Si la madre patria hubiera querido privar á los propietarios de los brazos que les eran indispensables ¿ á qué medios mas seguros podia haber recurrido? Pero los señores de Inglaterra, mimados por las ventajas artificiales de su posicion, no sabian entonces cuan absolutamente depende de los que cultivan el suelo el valor de las haciendas, ni cuan inútiles son las tierras mas vastas y fértiles si entre el pueblo no hay importancia moral, ni subordinacion,” &c.

Y continua, “ Antes que pase algun tiempo sería una terrible desgracia para los negros y para la colonia dejarlos entregados á sí mismos. Una de las eventualidades mas funestas sería la repeticion de las revoluciones de la América del Sur, porque es igualmente probable que se volveria á representar el drama de Haití.”

decidedly in my first Memoir, and which I now confirm in the most absolute manner ; but in order that my opinion may not be taken unsupported, I will extract some of the remarks made by Sir C. E. Grey, Governor of that island, in his despatches of the 26th June, 1852, to Sir J. S. Parkington, Colonial Minister in the British Cabinet, published in the same monthly "Review."

By these despatches, which cannot in any manner be deemed suspicious or considered as the weapons of England's enemies, the political error committed by the English Government in proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves in her colonies will be fully proved. In speaking of the decline of that island, he says, that he " attributes it to two causes, viz. to the introduction of forced labour, and to the precipitate and ill-advised emancipation ; the latter measure having left them without hands for cultivation, destroying politically and civilly the old position of the coloured race. It is," he adds, " some twenty years since the aforesaid emancipation took place, when the slaves became their own masters in the midst of ferocious and unoccupied lands, offering every facility for their seizure. Can any one be surprised at the natural consequences that ensued, that the continual supply of labour requisite for the profitable cultivation formerly obtained by slavery, was not to be found in the island, and that the people were no longer imbued with habits of order and subordination ? If the mother country had wished to deprive the landowners of the workmen that were indispensable to them, what surer means could she have had recourse to ? But the gentlemen of England, flattered or spoiled by the artificial advantages of their position, did not then know how absolutely the value of estates depends on those who cultivate the land, nor how useless are the most vast and fertile tracts, if the people are devoid of moral importance and subordination," &c.

He goes on to say, " For some time to come it would be a terrible misfortune, both for the negroes and for the colony, if they were to be left to themselves. One of the most direful occurrences would be a repetition of the South American revolutions, for it is highly probable that the Haytian drama would again be enacted."

Por no hacer demasiado difuso este escrito, dejaré de extractar otra porcion de párrafos en los que el expresado Gobernador Grey condena la imprudente medida de haber sacrificado la Inglaterra mas de veinte millones de libras para proporcionar una verdadera calamidad en lugar de las ventajas que se propusiera; á cuyos sacrificios si se agregan los que está haciendo sin cesar esa misma nacion en los cuantiosos gastos de sus cruceros, y en las innumerables víctimas que se tragan los climas insalubres de la costa de Africa, se vendrá en conocimiento de que dificilmente pueden presentar los anales británicos una disposicion gubernativa mas desastrosa bajo todos conceptos.

Esta es una verdad tan incuestionable que hasta las mas acérrimos partidarios de la emancipacion no pueden menos de confesarla. El mismo Lord Carlisle, que declaró en la mencionada sesion de 30 de Mayo haber sido uno de los principales promovedores de aquella idea, dijo al propio tiempo, que no sabia si habia obrado bien ó mal, y añadió que de cuantas cuestiones pudieran traerse al parlamento ninguna le angustiaba tanto como la negrera. Mas ya no es tiempo de retroceder, señores políticos ingleses; se dió el golpe fatal, y es preciso cargar con todas sus consecuencias, procurando atenuar el mal del mejor modo posible, ya que no haya un remedio eficaz para curarlo radicalmente. De todos modos siempre se habrá logrado un objeto de la mayor importancia, cual es el de dar la voz de alarma á las demás naciones, para que no incurran en iguales faltas, y para que huyan de los escollos en que han tropezado los que se han puesto á la cabeza de esta pretendida regeneracion social.

Me parece que con estas sucintas observaciones debe quedar suficientemente demostrado, que han estado mal consultados los principios humanitarios, prohibiendo la estraccion de los prisioneros africanos, y tambien que la emancipacion de los esclavos de las colonias ha sido una medida no menos funesta para éstos, que para sus antiguos dueños.

Sentados estos hechos ¡no se presenta altamente censurable el empeño de emancipar los esclavos que hasta ahora se han visto exentos de tal calamidad? Sensible me es entrar en el

In order not to make this document too diffuse, I refrain from extracting many other paragraphs in which the said Governor Grey condemns the imprudent measure of England having sacrificed more than twenty millions of money to occasion a real calamity, instead of the advantages she contemplated securing ; to which sacrifices, if we add those additional ones, continually made by that nation, such as the immense expenses of her cruisers, and the innumerable victims to the unhealthiness of the coast of Africa, it will be clear that the British annals can hardly present a political measure more disastrous in every point of view.

This is a fact so unquestionable that even the most strenuous partizans of the emancipation cannot do less than acknowledge it. Lord Carlisle, who declared in the aforesaid session of 30th of May, that he had been one of the principal promoters of that scheme, said also that he did not know whether he had acted well or ill ; and added, that of all the questions which could be brought before Parliament, none troubled it so much as that of slavery. But I would tell the politicians of England it is now too late to recede ; the fatal blow has been struck, and it is necessary to put up with all its consequences, and endeavour to lessen the evil in the best manner possible, since there is no longer any efficacious remedy for its radical cure. In any case an object of the greatest importance will have been gained, and that is, giving the warning cry to other nations in order that they may not fall into the same errors, but fly from the sunken rocks on which those who have placed themselves at the head of this pretended social regeneration have foundered.

I think that these brief observations must have sufficiently demonstrated that the principles of humanity have been ill consulted by the prohibition of the exportation of African prisoners, and also that the emancipation of the slaves of the colonies has been a measure as fatal to themselves as for their late owners.

- These facts being established, is it not proved that the desire to emancipate those slaves, who hitherto have been exempted from all trouble, is highly deserving of censure ? It is painful

terreno de las intenciones; pero se hace preciso ventilar este punto, que es el tercero de mi discurso.

Las damas de Jamaica me ahorrarán el trabajo penoso de hacer directas inculpaciones, cuando en la representacion que el antedicho Conde Carlisle leyó en la Cámara, y apoyó con mas pasion que con razones congruentes, descuellta la idea principal de que no pudiendo el trabajo libre de aquella isla competir con el trabajo forzado de la de Cuba, se obligue á la España á que emancipe sus esclavos, ó lo que es lo mismo, á que se arruine la isla de Cuba, ya que lo está completamente la de Jamaica, como una consecuencia de las fatales medidas gubernativas; porque este sería el único medio de constituir ambas islas bajo el mismo pié.

Bravo por las doctrinas acomodaticias! ¿Y es posible que estas se hayan propalado en el augusto y severo recinto de la gran representacion británica? Y los que las han concebido, los que las han apoyado, y los que las han oido ¿no se han parado á reflexionar sobre el mal efecto que habian de producir en cuantos leyesen el extracto de aquella célebre sesion? Con estos argumentos en la mano ¿podrán quejarse sus autores si se pone en duda el aparente móvil de la persecucion esclava, ó si se recela por lo menos que si en su origen fué puro y altamente moral y humanitario, ya en el dia ha tomado un sesgo muy diferente, habiéndose convertido en objeto político, ó mas bien especulativo? Mas de una vez han llegado á mis oídos las públicas murmuraciones, de que la mira culminante del Gobierno inglés era la de destruir por medios indirectos la isla de Cuba, con cuyos productos no podian competir los de sus colonias orientales; mas era tan alta la idea que tenia formada de la grandeza británica que no la creia capaz de abrigar ideas tan mezquinas. En este mismo elevado concepto quiero perseverar, á pesar de las dudas á que dan lugar las ocurrencias que acabo de relatar. Sin embargo para desvanecer estos cargos, que si bien yo no me atreva á formularlos, no dejará de hacerlos cualquiera otro que estime y respete menos que yo la gran nación á que me refiero, opino que debe desistir completamente de su empeño de eman-

for me to enter upon the ground of the actuating motives, but it is necessary for the discussion of the third point of my discourse.

The ladies of Jamaica have saved me the painful task of making direct accusations, by the petition which the aforesaid Lord Carlisle read in the House, and supported with more passion than suitable reasoning, and in which the most conspicuous idea was, that as the free labour of that island cannot compete with the forced labour of Cuba, Spain ought to be compelled to emancipate her slaves ; or, which is the same thing, to ruin the island of Cuba by introducing the same fatal measures of Government which have already effected the ruin of Jamaica, such being the only way of establishing both islands on an equal footing.

Excellent and self-accommodating doctrines ! But is it possible that such should be set up in the august and high chamber of the representatives of Great Britain ? And those who have conceived, supported, and heard them, have they not paused to reflect upon the bad effect that they must produce on all who might read the minutes of that memorable sitting ? With these arguments before us, can its authors complain, if the apparent motive of the slavery persecution be doubted, or if it be suspected that though in its source it might be pure, highly moral, and humane, that it has now assumed a different character, having become changed into a political or rather speculative object ? More than once have my ears caught the public murmurings of the main view of the English Government being to destroy by indirect means the island of Cuba, with the produce of which its Eastern colonies cannot compete ; but the exalted opinion which I^{had} formed of British greatness induced me to believe that it was not capable of harbouring such mean ideas. This high^{opinion} I wish to continue, notwithstanding the doubts to which the occurrences I have just related give rise. Nevertheless, in order to remove these charges, which although I may not dare to set up, will not fail to be made by others who may have less respect and esteem than myself for the great nation to which I allude, I think it should desist entirely from

cipacion, y no hostigar mas allá de lo justo y razonable al Gobierno Español por el contrabando de esclavos, que como ya se ha dicho repetidas veces, mientras sean tan inmensas las ganancias que deja, no podrá menos de hacerse en mayor ó menor escala por mas esfuerzos que se dediquen á atajarlo, á menos que no se recurra á las medidas efficaces, que me atreveré á proponer por conclusion de esta Memoria.

Si mayores pruebas se necesitasen de los fatales resultados de la emancipacion, diria que no tan solo en Jamaica, sino en cuantos puntos se ha ensayado este funesto sistema, se han experimentado iguales quebrantos, producidos por la haraganeria y por el desarreglo, que es peculiar á todos los africanos entregados á su libre alvedrío. Como una consecuencia de dicha holgazanería y de dicho desorden, van quedando las tierras sin cultivo, arruinados los dueños de haciendas, y convertidas las colonias en una carga gravosa para la metropolí, sin que hayan adelantado nada los libertos en la carrera de la civilizacion, de la moralidad y de la felicidad doméstica, sino mas bien aumentado considerablemente su relajacion, sus vicios, y sus crímenes. Está fuera de duda que las mismas causas deben producir iguales efectos; es decir, que el negro libre, cualesquiera que sean las fases que haya recorrido, ha de ser siempre holgazan y corrompido. Aunque yo me hallaba bien convencido de esta verdad, pude sin embargo ratificar mis creencias en la visita que hize en este mismo año á la isla de Santo Domingo, y á otros puntos de las Antillas.

El actual imperio de Haití, que en un tiempo fué república con intérvalos de monarquía, ha sido gobernado por los negros con absoluta libertad ó independencia desde el principio del siglo presente; y en todos tiempos, y cualesquiera que haya sido la forma de su gobierno, ha imperado la desidia y el abandono de los braceros, causa primordial del atraso, ó mas bien de la desaparicion de la riqueza de aquellos fértiles países.

Cuando aquel territorio estaba dividido entre los dos jefes Cristobal y Petion, el primero en el norte con el título de rey, y el segundo en el sur con el de presidente republicano, empezó

its desire for emancipation, and not harass the Spanish Government beyond reason and justice on account of the Slave Trade, which, as I have often said, whilst it offers such immense profits as it does, is certain to be carried on more or less, notwithstanding all efforts directed to its suppression, unless, indeed, recourse be had to the efficacious measures which I shall take the liberty of suggesting in the conclusion of the first part of this Memoir.

If greater proofs are wanted of the fatal results of emancipation, I would say, that not alone in Jamaica, but in every other place where this direful system has been tried, have similar misfortunes been experienced, resulting from the idleness and disorders peculiar to all the African race when delivered over to their own free will: one of the consequences of their sloth and profligacy being, that the country is falling into a state of uncultivation, the owners of estates are being ruined, and the colonies are becoming a grievous burden to the mother country, whilst the freed men have made no advance in the career of civilization, morality, and domestic happiness, but, on the contrary, have rather increased considerably in vice, wickedness, and debauchery. There is no doubt that the same causes produce the same effects; and under this principle the free negro, whatever may be the vicissitudes he may have experienced, must ever be idle and corrupt. Although I was well convinced of this truth, my belief was further confirmed during my visit this year to the island of St. Domingo, and other parts of the Antilles.

The present empire of Hayti, which once was a republic, with monarchical government at intervals, has been ruled by the blacks with absolute liberty and independence since the commencement of the present century; and at all times, and under all forms of government, idleness and neglect of work have predominated, which has been the primary cause of the decay, or rather of the disappearance of the wealth of those fertile countries,

When that territory was divided between the two chiefs, Cristophe and Petion, the first in the north, under the title of king, and the second in the south, under that of a republican

aquel á prosperar de un modo sorprendente, porque dictó leyes despóticas imponiendo el trabajo forzado; y este decayó y se empobreció, porque su sistema republicano no le permitía saltar las barreras de la ley. En la corte de Cristobal todo era abundancia, y en la de Petion todo miseria. ¡Y porqué? Porque el negro no trabaja sino se le obliga; y si trabaja, es tan solo uno ó dos días de la semana, en que gana cuanto bastarle puede para los restantes que invierte en su habitual estado de inercia, ó lo que es lo mismo, en el *dolce far niente*. Tan solo los agujones del hambre lo despiertan de su letargo. En los momentos de la recolección de frutos se les ofrece hasta dos pesos de jornal, y á pesar de un aliciente tan poderoso, á la par que destructor del cultivo, como que no puede sostenerse con altos jornales, trabajan á lo sumo la mitad de la semana, destinando la otra mitad á su invencible pasión por permanecer días y noches acostados, en lo que cifran la suprema felicidad.

Exactamente lo mismo sucede en las islas francesas, Martinica y Guadalupe, desde que el carro socialista vació en 1848 en aquellas, hasta entonces felices y prósperas colonias, la ponzoña de su quimérica libertad é igualdad, como que en el día escasamente producen la tercera parte de lo que rendían con el trabajo forzado.

Pásele una revista general á las demás colonias en las que se haya ensayado el malhadado sistema de la emancipación, y en todas ellas se hallará los mismos males, iguales vicios, y su inevitable ruina.

Tiempo es ya de que se disipen las ilusiones. Las doctrinas de los abolicionistas son excelentes en teoría, pero fatales y funestísimas en la práctica. Sepan pues todos los que tienen siervos, que si quieren perder su capital y su trabajo, y al mismo tiempo decretar la infelicidad de aquellos, no tienen más que pasarlos de la vida pacífica y virtuosa á la inquieta, viciosa y corrompida, como lo es con muy pocas excepciones la que se adopta á consecuencia de la emancipación.

Y habiendo la experiencia de tantos años, y en tantos y tan diversos puntos, confirmado este mismo juicio, habrá todavía

president, the former began to prosper in a surprising manner, because it dictated despotic laws imposing forced labour, whilst the latter decayed and became impoverished, because its republican system did not allow it to overstep the barriers of the law. In the court of Cristophe all was abundance, and in that of Petion all was misery. And why? Because the negro never works, save on compulsion; and even when he does work, it is only one or two days a week, during which time he can earn enough to serve him for the remainder, which he employs in his habitual state of indolence, or what is the same, in *dolce far niente*. The stings of hunger alone can rouse him from his lethargy. At the time of the fruit crops two dollars per diem are offered, and in spite of such powerful inducement, and which at the same time destroys cultivation, as it cannot be carried on at such high rates of labour, they work at the most only half the week, devoting the rest to their invincible passion for remaining days and nights in repose, which they consider to be the acme of human happiness.

Exactly the same has occurred with the French islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, since the socialist car in 1848 emptied into those before happy and prosperous colonies the poison of its chimerical liberty and equality, and they now produce exactly one third of what they yielded under forced labour.

Taking a general review of the remaining colonies in which the direful system of emancipation has been attempted, the same evils, vices, and inevitable ruin will be found in all of them.

It is already time that the illusions should be dispelled. The doctrines of the abolitionists are excellent in theory, but fatal and ruinous in practice. Let all holders of slaves, then, know that if they wish to lose their capital and labour, and at the same time to decree misery to the slaves themselves, they have only to change them from a peaceful and virtuous life, to the disturbed, vicious, and corrupted existence, which, with very few exceptions, has ensued upon emancipation.

The experience of so many years, and in so many and such different places, having confirmed this opinion, can there yet be

quien abogue por dicha emancipacion, á menos que no lleve una mira muy diferente de su objeto ostensible? En mi concepto solo el espíritu de destruccion, la torpe ignorancia, ó los cálculos especulativos son los que pueden apoyar tan perniciosa idea. Debe esperarse por lo tanto que el Gobierno inglés, demasiado sabio y entendido para ignorar estos hechos, y desconocer la fuerza de tales argumentos, aflojará su sistema de rigor, convencido como debe estarlo de que el primitivo principio eminentemente filantrópico y humanitario se ha hecho completamente ilusorio; y los mismos abolicionistas, que mas de una vez han empujado y aun precipitado al Gobierno envolviéndolo en serios compromisos, deberán desistir, en fuerza de sus nuevas convicciones, de unas exigencias tan ruinosas bajo todos conceptos, en las que no se ha logrado hasta el dia, ni es posible que se logre jamas ninguna de las ventajas que se habian propuesto en el arrebato de su laudable celo.

Delicado es el cuarto punto de mi Memoria, pero me esmeraré en ventilarlo con decoro y con los miramientos que se deben á una gran nacion. Yo no creo que ni el Gobierno ni el pueblo inglés participen de las exajeradas ideas emitidas en el parlamento por Lord Carlisle y por el Obispo de Oxford, y aun me inclino á atribuir á su inmoderado celo, y al calor de la improvisacion las proposiciones tan avanzadas, y que de ningun modo deben hallar eco en la sensata y circumspecta Albion, de que el apoyo que se hubiera ofrecido á España para conservar la isla de Cuba, podria retirarse si no se conformaba estrictamente con los deseos de los abolicionistas aun cuando exigieran estos lo que fuera imposible otorgar por las razones que van apuntadas en este escrito, y aun cuando quisiera aquella forzar el el espíritu y acomodar á sus fines la observancia de un tratado que de todo tuvo menos de espontaneo. Esta es la traducción que se debe dar al destemplado lenguaje de los referidos oradores, lenguaje que ha sido esplotado con inaudita dureza por el sesudo *Times*, que en esta ocasion ha debido perder en gran manera los títulos que habia logrado adquirir aun á la consideracion de los extranjeros por el espíritu de órden, de rectitud, de imparcialidad, de templanza, y de sana política, y de profunda

any one who will advocate the aforesaid emancipation, unless he has views very different from his ostensible object? . In my opinion nothing but a spirit of destruction, base ignorance, or speculative calculation, can uphold such a pernicious idea. Consequently it is to be expected that the English Government, too wise and learned to be ignorant of these facts, and of the force of such arguments, will slacken its system of rigour, convinced, as it must be, that the primitive principle, so eminently philanthropic and humane, has become completely illusory : and the abolitionists themselves, who more than once have pressed forward and precipitated the Government into serious compromises, should desist in deference to their recent convictions, from demands so ruinous in every point of view, and by which none of the advantages they proposed to themselves in the extacy of their laudable zeal, ever have, or ever will be gained.

The fourth part of my Memoir is somewhat delicate ; but I shall endeavour to discuss it with the decorum and with the consideration due to a great nation. I do not believe that either the English Government or the people share in the exaggerated opinions expressed in Parliament by Lord Carlisle and by the Bishop of Oxford ; and I am even inclined to attribute to their immoderate zeal and to the warmth of impromptu eloquence the very forward threats, which, I think, could in no degree find an echo with the people of sane and circumspect Albion—that the support offered to Spain for the preservation of the island of Cuba would be withdrawn, unless she conformed strictly to the wishes of the abolitionists, even though they should demand what it would be impossible to concede for the reasons already mentioned in this work ; and even though they should wish to force the spirit and accommodate to their own ends the observance of a treaty, which was in nowise spontaneous. This is the explanation which must be given to the intemperate language of the orators I allude to, and which has been commented upon with unheard-of severity by the intelligent *Times*, which on this occasion must have lost, in a great measure, the rights which it had succeeded in acquiring even to the consideration of foreigners,

filosofia, cuyas altas dotes lo habian colocado en la primera linea de la magistratura periodistica.

Al rechazar nosotros sus violentas é infundadas recriminaciones, y al constituirnos en un estado forzoso de hostilidad á la que nos ha provocado, no podemos menos de expresar nuestro sentimiento por este cambio tan repentino en el modo de apreciar los negocios públicos y privados de la España, sistema tan diferente del que adoptó en la cuestión internacional de reciente fecha en la que se grangeó las simpatías de todo hombre de orden y justicia. Empero no puedo creer que su animosidad contra los españoles sea de larga duracion, porque terminada que sea favorablemente la cuestión de esclavitud, y espero que lo ha de ser muy en breve bajo las bases que tendré el honor de proponer, y cuando haya fijado fria y desapasionadamente su atención en las circunstancias especiales de los cargos que mas han escitado su ira, se arrepentirá á no dudarlo de haber proferido expresiones tan pocos dignas de caballeros que desean no perder el renombre de sensatos; y haciéndonos justicia, quedarán vindicados nuestros ultrajes.

Doloroso es por cierto que á pesar de mi repugnancia en salir de la esfera del raciocinio me vea precisado, por amor á mi patria, y para que conste que rechazo tan injustas inculpaciones, á descender al ingrato terreno personal, ocupándome de funcionarios ilustres, cuyos discursos, sin que sea mi ánimo faltar al respeto que se debe á su alta categoría social, no puedo menos de calificar de insultantes é impolíticos, del mismo modo que los habrá calificado todo el que los haya leido.

Como yo tambien he subido á la tribuna parlamentaria, conozco que se debe tener alguna tolerancia y disímulo por los bruscos ataques que se dan desde aquel eminente lugar; desde el cual se suele imprimir cierto grado de violencia á las palabras, violencia que no dudo habría desaparecido de los discursos pronunciados por las personas á las que aludo, si en vez de ser improvisados hubieran recibido el bautismo de la reflexión en el fondo de sus respectivos gabinetes. Empero la prensa europea

for orderly spirit, rectitude, impartiality, moderation, sound politics, and profound philosophy ; and which high attainments had secured for it the first rank in the magistracy of the Press.

In rejecting its violent and unfounded recriminations, and placing ourselves in the forced state of hostility to which we have been incited, we cannot do less than express our sorrow for this very sudden change in the manner of appreciating the public and private affairs of Spain, so different from the system adopted on an international question of recent date, in which the sympathies of all men of order and justice were obtained. I cannot, however, believe that its animosity towards the Spaniards can be of long duration, for when once the slavery question is favourably settled, which I hope it soon will be upon the basis I shall have the honour of proposing, and when it has coolly and dispassionately considered the special circumstances of the charges which have most excited its wrath, it will doubtless repent of having given utterance to expressions unworthy of gentlemen desirous of retaining a credit for sound sense ; and by doing us justice, it will vindicate the outrages we have suffered.

It is painful for me, on account of my unwillingness to depart from the sphere of reasoning, to see myself, from a love of my country and for the purpose of rejecting such unjust inculpations, compelled to descend to the unpleasant ground of personality, and to speak of illustrious personages, whose discourses, without any wish to be wanting in the respect due to their high social position, I cannot qualify as otherwise than insulting and impolitic, and as such must have been considered by all who read them.

As I also have ascended the parliamentary tribune, I know that some tolerance is requisite on account of the rude attacks made from that high situation, and from which it is customary to speak with a certain degree of vehemence, but which vehemence, I doubt not, would have been omitted from the speeches made by the parties I allude to, if, instead of being impromptu, they had been duly digested in the recesses of their respective cabinets ; however the European and American Press have got

y americana se ha apoderado de ellos, y es preciso satisfacer á esa misma prensa.

Dejando aparte las diatribas contra nuestro Gobierno, por ser ya resortes muy gastados, me fijaré por ahora solamente en las amenazas tan intempestiva como impoliticamente proferidas. Cualquiera que las lea lijeramente se figurará que la Inglaterra (digo la Inglaterra en la hipótesis no admitida de que participase de las opiniones de Lord Carlisle, del Obispo de Oxford, y del Editor del *Times*) puede por causas muy leves, ó por resentimientos personales variar un sistema en el que se halla altamente comprometida su política. Para que de este modo obrase un Gobierno tan calculador como el inglés preciso sería convenir en que él apoyo que en union de la Francia hubiera ofrecido á la España para defender sus dominios coloniales, procedia meramente de un cariño especial hácida nuestra nacion, cariño que podria retirarse con la misma facilidad con que se arranca un juguete de las manos de un muchacho, cuando no ha sido bueno, en el sentido de obediente y sumiso.

Sería una ridiculez pensar de este modo. Los Gobiernos no tienen ni deben tener predilecciones sino por su propia conveniencia; y como esta conveniencia se halla no pocas veces muy conforme con la de otra nacion, hé aquí porque se estrechan las alianzas y se afianzan las reciprocas garantias ; Y quien no conoce que no está de modo alguno en los intereses de la Gran Bretaña la traslacion del dominio de la isla de Cuba á otras manos, á menos que no fueran las suyas ? Y no pudiendo tener lugar este último , no ha de hacer todos los esfuerzos, como los está haciendo para que aquellas importantes posesiones no pasen á dar una peligrosa preponderancia á ningun otro pueblo ? Si de otro modo procediera la Inglaterra, abdicaria el alto puesto que ha sabido asegurarse en los anales de la política por medio de sus eminentes diplomáticos.

La Inglaterra no puede separarse de su sistema protector y conservador, no mediando, como no median razones muy poderosas para alterarlo. Los gobiernos sábios y previsores no conocen ni conocer deben pasiones ni resentimientos, porque incurririan en una grave responsabilidad si descendiendo de su

hold of them, and it is necessary to satisfy their readers on the subject.

Laying aside the insults to our Government as resources already much exhausted, I will confine myself for the present solely to the threats as intemperately as impolitically proffered. Any one reading them hastily would imagine that England (I say England under the by no means admitted hypothesis of her participation in the opinions of Lord Carlisle, the Bishop of Oxford, and the Editor of the *Times*) might, for very light reasons or through personal resentment, vary a course which her politics have highly compromised her to follow. In order that a Government so calculating as the English should act in this manner, it would be necessary to agree that the support, which, jointly with France, she has offered to Spain for the defence of her colonial dominions, proceeded merely from a special affection for that nation, and which might be withdrawn with as much facility as a toy from a child, who had not been good in the sense of obedience and submission.

It would be absurd to think in this manner. Governments have not, and ought not to have, any predilections save for their own convenience; and this convenience is not often very suitable to that of other nations; hence the motives of alliance and reciprocal guarantees: and who is ignorant of the fact of its being in nowise to the interest of England, that the dominion of the island of Cuba should pass into other hands, unless indeed it be to her own? And as the latter occurrence cannot take place, ought she not to use every effort, as she does, to prevent the transfer of such important possessions from giving a dangerous preponderance to any other nation? If England were to act in any other manner, she would renounce the high place which she has known how to secure in the annals of politics through the means of her eminent diplomatists.

England cannot depart from her protective and conservative system, unless very powerful reasons for altering it should operate, which is not the case at present. Wise and foreseeing governments do not, and ought not, to feel passions or resentments, because they would incur a grave responsibility, if

elevada posicion para tomar parte en las miserias de los partidos, sacrificasen á un mal entendido orgullo los intereses nacionales. Ya no se emprenden guerras, como en otro tiempo por una simple falta de etiqueta, ó por el figurado desaire de un embajador altanero, ó por un pique personal, ó por otras causas insignificantes. Para que una nacion quebrante en el dia sus relaciones amistosas con otra, es preciso que concurran causas muy graves que no admitan una transaccion decorosa, la cual sin embargo no deja de hallarse para que quede en buen lugar el honor de ambas. La causa que suscitó la acalorada sesion del 30 de Mayo, y provocó la destemplanza de la prensa inglesa es muy débil para que pueda hallarse oportunidad en las bravatas que se lanzaron; y como el tono provocativo y descomedido es el menos adecuado para granjearse verdaderas simpatías, de sentir es que el noble lord á quien aludo, haya hecho ese desgraciado paréntesis á su moderacion y rectitud, porque los efectos han de ser diametralmente opuestos á sus deseos.

Aunque soy por cierto que el citado lord ha hablado por su cuenta, y bajo la inmunidad parlamentaria, que soy el primero en respetar, y de ningun modo á nombre del Gobierno, me parece muy oportuno este lugar para manifestarle tambien con la inmunidad que no puede negarse á un escritor público, mis opiniones, que me atrevo asegurar son comunes á todos los que sienten correr sangre española por sus venas; y éstas son las de que la España no aceptaria beneficio alguno si habia de comprarlo á expensas de su honor; que la España, justa apreciadora de la importancia política de la Gran Bretaña, desea su amistad y su alianza, pero sin bajeza; y que si para obtener la España en casos dados el apoyo de otra nacion, se la quisiera imponer condiciones depresivas, lo rechazaría con indignacion por angustiosas que fueran las circunstancias en que pudiera hallarse, y fariaría su suerte á la proteccion del Dios de los ejércitos, y á sus heróicos esfuerzos.

Nadie desea mas que yo la conservacion de la paz, porque el largo periodo que llevamos de estar exentos de los horrores de la guerra, nos ha hecho ver cuanto ganan las naciones en la

descending from their high station to take part in the miseries of faction, they were to sacrifice national interests to an ill-understood pride. Wars are no longer, as before, undertaken for a simple want of etiquette, or for the imagined disdain of a haughty ambassador, or for private pique or other insignificant causes. In order that in the present day one nation may break off its friendly relations with another, it is requisite that very serious causes should intervene; which do not admit of some decorous arrangement, and which, nevertheless, is still found, so that the honour of both may remain intact. The subject which gave rise to the heated debate in the sitting of the 30th of May, and excited the violence of the English press, is a very weak one to deserve the menaces uttered; and, as a provocative and unkind tone is least adapted for securing great sympathy, it is to be regretted that the noble lord, to whom I allude, should have made that digression on his moderation and rectitude, because the result must be diametrically opposed to his wishes.

Although I take it for granted that the noble lord in question has spoken on his own account, and under the parliamentary immunity which I am the first to respect, and not in any way in the name of the Government, the present seems to me to be the most suitable moment for stating to him my opinions, under the same immunity, which cannot be denied to a public writer, and which opinions, I make bold to assert, are common to all men having Spanish blood in their veins; these are, that Spain would not accept of any benefits that she had to buy at the expense of her honour; that Spain, justly appreciating the political importance of Great Britain, is anxious for her friendship and alliance, but unaccompanied by ignominy; and that if Spain could not secure the support of another nation, save by submitting to lowering conditions, she would reject it with indignation, however harassing might be her position at the time, and would trust her fate to the protection of the God of armies and to her own heroic efforts.

No one desires more earnestly than myself the preservation of peace, because the long time that we have now been free from the horrors of war has shown us how much nations advance in

carrera del órden y de la prosperidad, nadie estaria por lo tanto mas dispuesto á hacer sacrificios para que no se interrumpieran nuestras relaciones internacionales, pero sacrificios que no envolvieran clase alguna de bajeza ni humillacion.

Este fué mi lenguaje al tratar de la cuestión de la isla de Cuba con los Estados Unidos en la obra que acabo de publicar con el título de "Bosquejo económico político de la citada isla." En el primer tomo he dejado bien consignadas las mismas opiniones que acabo de expresar. Desearia que dicha obra fuera conocida en Inglaterra, y aun mas por las personas de las que me estoy ocupando, con cuyo objeto tal vez me decidiria á traducirla si este mi primero ensayo fuera recibido favorablemente por el público.

En ella verian no un reto jactancioso, sino la resolucion firme y enérgica de un leal español para los casos en que viera escarnecido el honor nacional. En ella observaria, que en la hipótesis de un rompimiento con los Estados Unidos, que á todo trance y sin faltar á las bases antedichas quisiera que se evitase, no faria yo la defensa de ese mismo honor nacional á la intervención armada de la Inglaterra, ni de ninguna otra potencia, sino á nuestros propios recursos, recursos que no se han parado á calcular los que hablan de la España con tan poco miramiento y con tanta lijereza.

Allí verian que insisto con razones muy congruentes, en que la España debiera quedar sola en el campo de las hostilidades, porque tiene en su seno los medios de salir triunfante de la presupuesta lucha, y sin mendigar el apoyo material de ninguna otra, y sin comprometer ajenos intereses; y no se crea que son estas las opiniones estrañadas de un individuo deslumbrado con su patriotismo: lo son de toda la nacion, pues que en todas partes fueron acojidas con entusiasmo las doctrinas vertidas en la citada obra, y aun mas la parte política relativa á los Estados Unidos, que se publicó en forma de artículos en uno de los periódicos mas acreditados de la Corte, á fin de que tuvieran mas estensa circulacion.

morality and prosperity ; no one, therefore, would be more disposed to make sacrifices to avoid any interruption to our international relations, provided that they were sacrifices that did not involve any kind of degradation or humiliation.

This was my language when treating of the question of the island of Cuba with the United States, in the work which I have just published, entitled an "Economical and political sketch of that Island." In the first volume I have firmly expressed the same opinions which I have now reiterated. I am desirous of this work being known in England, and still more by the parties to whom I refer ; for which purpose I might perhaps be induced to make a translation of it into English, should the present Memoir be favourably received by the public.

In that work will be seen not an ostentatious challenge, but the resolution, firmness, and energy displayed by a loyal Spaniard on the occasion of seeing the honour of the nation derided. In it they would observe, that on the hypothesis of a rupture with the United States, which at all risks, and without departing from the beforementioned basis I should wish avoided, I would not trust the defence of our national honour to the armed intervention of England, nor of any other power, but to our own resources, which have not been properly estimated by those who have spoken of Spain with little regard, and so much levity.

They would therein see that I insist, with very suitable reasons, that Spain ought to remain alone in the hostile field, because she has sufficient means at her disposal for coming off triumphant in the presupposed struggle, and without craving the material support of any other nation, and without compromising foreign interests : and let it not be believed that these are the isolated opinions of an individual, dazzled by his patriotism ; they are those of all the nation, for in all parts the doctrines revealed in that work have been received with enthusiasm, more especially the political part relative to the United States, which was published in the form of articles in one of the most authorized journals of the Court to ensure more extensive circulation.

Igual pensamiento fué desenvuelto en aquella época por toda la prensa española, la cual se presentó tan unanime y compacta como en la Guerra de la Independencia; y se presentaría del mismo modo, á no dudarlo, cuantas veces se quisiera atentar á la dignidad y al decoro del nombre español. No es nuestro carácter el de provocar conflictos, ni de insultar á ninguna nación; pero tampoco sufrimos insultos ni provocaciones de nadie. Sería de desear que se tuvieran presentes estas indicaciones cuando se tratase de censurar los actos de nuestro Gobierno, para que se guardára siquiera alguna consideración en las formas.

Pasaré al quinto y último punto de mi disertación que se reducirá á proponer los medios de terminar amistosa y pacíficamente la cuestión negrera, causa inextinguible de disgustos y conflictos. Estos medios nos los ha deparado la misma Inglaterra. ¿Por qué han surjido tantas dificultades y compromisos desde que se firmó el tratado de abolición del tráfico de esclavos? ¿Por qué los ingleses han tenido, y tienen que mantener con immensos gastos numerosas escuadras en las costas de África y de Cuba? ¿Por qué se han visto precisados á establecer comisiones de vigilancia en ambos puntos? Todos estos sacrificios han sido necesarios para destruir ese tráfico ilícito. ¿Y han logrado su objeto? ¿Y podrán lograrlo? Bien se puede avanzar una respuesta tan negativa como la que correspondería al que preguntase si era posible destruir el contrabando de productos ingleses que se está haciendo sin cesar en la Península.

Mas de una vez se ha dicho, y nadie puede ponerlo en duda, que una ganancia exorbitante derriba todas las barreras que puedan oponer los gobiernos á las defraudaciones. Preciso es pues buscar los medios indirectos ya que los directos son insuficientes. ¿Y cuáles son esos medios indirectos? La introducción de negros en la clase de colonos en número bastante para cubrir las mas apremiantes necesidades del cultivo, necesidades que se hacen sentir al presente con mas fuerza á causa de la gran baja que ha habido de braceros por las epidemias que han afligido á la isla de Cuba en estos últimos años.

Similar ideas were expounded at that time by all the Spanish press, which acted with the same unanimity and adherence as in the War of Independence, and undoubtedly they would act in the same manner as often as the dignity and decorum of the Spanish name might be attacked. It is not our character to provoke conflicts, or to insult any nation; but, on the other hand, neither do we submit to insults or provocations from any one. It would be desirable that these hints should be borne in mind when it is thought convenient to censure the acts of our Government, in order that at least some decorum may be observed in the manner of doing it.

I will pass on to the fifth and last part of my dissertation, which is confined to proposing the means for terminating amicably and peacefully the negro question—the never-ending source of annoyance and contention. These means England herself has furnished. Why have so many difficulties and compromises been raised since the signing of the treaty for the abolition of the Slave Trade? Why have the English had to maintain, and still to keep up at immense expense, numerous squadrons on the coasts of Africa and Cuba? Why have they been compelled to establish superintending commissions in both places? All these sacrifices have been necessary for suppressing that illicit traffic. And have they attained their object, or can they attain it? We can well advance the same negative answer as would be given to whosoever should question the possibility of putting down the smuggling of English produce, which is unceasingly carried on in the Peninsula.

It has been said more than once, and no one can doubt it, that an exorbitant profit destroys all the barriers that governments can set up against fraud. It is necessary then to seek indirect, since direct means are insufficient. And what are those indirect means? The introduction of negroes in the character of colonists in a sufficient number to cover the most urgent necessities of cultivation, which necessities are felt at present with increased force, owing to the great scarcity of working-men resulting from the epidemics which of late years have afflicted the island of Cuba.

No hay ley alguna que condene esta inmigracion; no hay tratado que dé derecho á ninguna nacion para impedirla. Si permitida está en la isla de Cuba la inmigracion de Europeos, de Yucatecos, y de Asiáticos, con doble razon debe estarlo la de Africanos, porque á las ventajas que disfrutan los primeros como comunes á todos los emigrados, agregarian los últimos la mas esencial, como lo sería la de arrancarlos de la vida salvaje, salvándolos de su destruccion y haciéndolos miembros útiles á si mismos y al Estado.

La trata de esclavos se acabaria para siempre si de adoptase esta medida tan benéfica por todos títulos. Los abolicionistas, cuyo santo celo y principios altamente humanitarios son muy recomendables, podrian tranquilizarse y estar seguros de que se lograria completamente su deseo. El Gobierno inglés no tendría necesidad de hacer ulteriores sacrificios para impedir la violacion de sus tratados; y el español se salvaria de los serios conflictos en que tiene que envolverlo de continuo la codicia mercantil, como se salvaria indudablemente desde el momento en que esta fuera atacada por el corazon. ¡Y qué mejor ataque que hacer ilusorias las fabulosas ganancias que ahora reportan los contrabandistas en este vergonzoso tráfico, ó mejor dicho, reducirlas á una nulidad absoluta?

Voy á demostrarlo. La inmigracion etiópica, verificada con todas las garantías que propondré sucesivamente, y aun reducida á los mismos términos, y á iguales condiciones de la asiática, ofreceria á los hacendados de la isla de Cuba colonos que les prestarian sus servicios por el espacio de ocho ó diez años sin mas desembolso inmediato por su adquisicion, que el de cien pesos, al paso que por un esclavo tiene que pagar en el dia seiscientos, es decir un sobre precio de quinientos pesos por individuo. ¡Qué hacendado habria tan estolido que quisiera tomar esclavos á tan alto precio, y correr los riesgos de esta clase de contrabando, que en el caso presupuesto se haria doblemente odioso porque se le despojaría de su carácter de necesario?

There is no law that condemns this immigration ; there is no treaty, which can give any nation a right to obstruct it. If the immigration of Europeans, Yucatans, Indians and Chinese, is allowed in Cuba, that of Africans should with double reason be permitted, because in addition to the advantages which the first enjoy as common to all immigrants, the latter would derive the greater benefit from it in being withdrawn from their savage life, saved from destruction, and made useful members alike to the State as to themselves.

The slave trade would be ended for ever, if this measure, so useful for all parties, were to be adopted. The abolitionists, whose holy zeal and highly humane principles are very praiseworthy, might calm themselves, and rest secure of obtaining the complete fulfilment of their wishes. The English Government would have no need of making ulterior sacrifices to avoid the violation of its treaties : and the Spanish Government would be saved from the serious disturbances in which it must constantly be involved through mercantile covetousness, as undoubtedly would be the case from the moment that this trade was rased to its foundation. And what better blow could be given than to render illusory the incredible profits which the smugglers report as arising out of this shameful traffic ; or, rather, to reduce them to an absolute nullity ?

I will just demonstrate this point. The Ethiopian immigration being carried into effect with all the guarantees which I shall in continuation propose, and even reduced to the same terms and to the same conditions as that of the Chinese, it would secure colonists for the landowners of the island of Cuba, who would engage their services for the space of eight or ten years, and without further immediate disbursement for their acquisition than a hundred dollars, whereas for a slave they would have to pay at present about six hundred, or say an excess of five hundred dollars for each individual. What landholder would there be so foolish as to wish to take slaves at such a price, and run the risks of this kind of smuggling, which in the pre-supposed case would be rendered doubly odious since it would be deprived of its character of being a necessary evil ?

Las condiciones de la contrata de los 6,000 asiáticos introducidos en la isla de Cuba en el año presente son como sigue:—

1. Costeados el pasaje y gastos de embarque.
2. Anticipacion de once y medio pesos para la habilitacion, cuya cantidad es la única que puede descontarse al colono en el primer año á razon de un peso mensual.
3. Suministro anual de dos mudas de ropa, una frezada, y una camisa de lana.
4. Racion diaria compuesta de ocho onzas de carne salada, y de una libra y media de plátanos, boniatos* ú otras plantas alimenticias.
5. Asistencia de médico, y enfermería.
6. Obligacion al colono de trabajar por el espacio de ocho años para la persona, á la cual fuere endosada la contrata, bien sea en las labores del campo, ó de cualquiera otra industria á que se le destine, sin que pueda dispensarse de una tarea proporcionada.
7. Libertad al concluir los ocho años de la contrata para adoptar el partido que mas acomode al colono, sin que por ningún título pueda ser retenido contra su voluntad.
8. Asegurado un jornal de cuatro pesos mensuales, que empezará á contar á las cuarenta y ocho horas de haber desembarcado el colono, y no se interrumpirá su pago bajo ningun pretesto, excepto en las enfermedades de mas de quince dias.

Aunque se hicieran dos pequeñas variaciones, que creo muy oportunas, á saber:— 1. La de que la obligacion abrazara diez años en vez de ocho, completando así los dos plazos á que suelen otorgarse los emancipados de aquella isla; y—2. De que se abonara al fin de cada mes la mitad del jornal, es decir, dos pesos, y la otra mitad á la terminacion del compromiso, aparecería sumamente ventajosa la referida contrata, ya que se aplicaban á los colonos salvajes los mismos goces y garantías que á los colonos civilizados.

* Una especie de patata americana, mas grande que las comunes.

The conditions of the contract for the 6,000 Chinese introduced into the island of Cuba in the present year, are as follows:—

1. The payment of passage and shipping charges.
2. An advance of eleven and a half dollars for outfit, which is the only amount that can be deducted from the colonist, and which is to be repaid during the first year at the rate of one dollar per month.
3. The annual supply of two changes of clothes, one blanket, and one woollen shirt.
4. Daily rations consisting of eight ounces of salt meat, and a pound and a half of plantains, *boniatos*,* or other nutritious vegetables.
5. Medical assistance and an infirmary.
6. The colonist being bound to work for the space of eight years for the person to whom the contract may have been endorsed, either in the fields or in any other kind of labour that he may be set to, without power to refuse any reasonable task.
7. The colonist, on the expiration of the eight years of his contract, may take any course he pleases, and can in nowise be retained against his will.
8. The colonist is secured wages at the rate of four dollars per month, commencing forty-eight hours after his landing; and his pay will on no condition be suspended, save during sickness of more than a fortnight's duration.

Although two variations, which I think very opportune, were made, viz. 1st. That the engagement should be extended to ten instead of eight years' service, thus completing the two terms for which the emancipated negroes of that island are usually granted; and 2nd. That at the end of each month they should receive half their wages, say two dollars, and the remainder at the conclusion of their engagement, such a control would still, I think, appear extremely favourable to them, as the same advantages and guarantees are accorded to the savage as to the civilized colonist.

* A kind of American potato, only larger than the common ones.

He dicho que creia oportunas las enunciadas alteraciones, especialmente la segunda, ya que para evitar los excesos de la embriaguez ó otros vicios á que se entregarian muchos de los colonos africanos si se les daban mensualmente los cuatro pesos asignados, que ni necesitan para su comida, ni para su vestido, ni para sus enfermedades, pues que á todo esto deben proveer sus patronos respectivos, y ya para que al espirar el plazo de la obligacion tuvieran recogida una cantidad suficiente para regresar á su pais nativo si así lo deseaban, ó bien para dirigirse á cualquiera otro punto que mas les acomodase.

Bajo tales bases no puede oponerse razon alguna fundada para entorpezer ó contrariar esta disposicion si el Gobierno español se decidiera á adoptarla, y aun menos, si al mismo tiempo se dictaban medidas efficaces para evitar todo abuso que pudiera cometerse en la costa de Africa, única parte vulnerable que pudiera tener el proyecto en cuestion, y que fué tomada en cuenta por el Parlamento británico en su sesion de 30 de Junio último, al tratar de los colonos negros, que la compañía de los Sres. Hythe y Hodges habia trasladado á las Antillas inglesas.

Es innegable que si á esta esportacion de colonos se la diera una absoluta libertad, pudieran sobrevenir algunos inconvenientes por la furiosa competencia de los esportadores, la cual seria fácil que tomase el carácter de violencia, atendido el afan con que todos se lanzarian á esta especulacion, hasta los mismos contrabandistas de esclavos, los cuales dejarian, á no dudarlo, su peligroso oficio, arruinado con este plan, y tomarian el que habia de ofrecerles algun lucro sin ninguna esposicion.

Empero este inconveniente puede salvarse siguiendo las huellas de la Inglaterra en el modo de dar ejecucion á tan filantrópica idea. La Inglaterra no permite la introduccion de estos colonos en las Antillas sino por conducto de una casa de comercio autorizada al efecto. La Inglaterra tiene sus comisionados en la costa de Africa para que los enganches sean de gente voluntaria, ó de prisioneros que serian degollados si no tuvieran esta salida. Pues bien, que la España haga lo mismo estrictamente; es decir, que establezca estas dos garantías, y ningun gobierno,

I have said that I consider the alterations just mentioned as very proper, particularly the second, not only for the purpose of avoiding the excesses of drunkenness or other vices, which many of the African colonists would fall into if they were to receive every month the four dollars, which they neither want for food, clothing, or sickness, since all this is provided by their respective patrons or masters; but also, in order that on the expiration of the term of their engagement they might have enough money saved up to enable them to return to their native country if they wished, or to set out for any other place which might suit them.

On such a basis no well-founded reason can be brought forward to oppose or hinder this arrangement should the Spanish Government decide upon adopting it; and still less, if at the same time efficacious measures were framed for avoiding all abuses that might be committed on the coast of Africa, which is the only vulnerable part that the project in question can have, and which was taken notice of in the British Parliament in its sitting of the 30th of June last, when reference was made to the subject of the negro colonists, which the partnership of Hythe and Hodges had transmitted to the English Antilles.

It is an undeniable fact, that if this exportation of colonists were to be unrestrainedly allowed, some inconveniences might arise through the fierce competition of the exporters, and which might easily assume the character of violence, considering the eagerness with which all would rush into this speculation, even the very slave smugglers themselves, who would undoubtedly renounce their dangerous trade, ruined by this plan, and take to one that offers them a good profit without any risk.

However, this inconvenience might be avoided by following the footsteps of England in the manner of carrying out such a philanthropic idea. England does not allow the introduction of these colonists into the Antilles, save through the medium of a house of business authorized for the purpose. England has her agents on the coast of Africa in order that the enrolled parties should be volunteers, or prisoners who would be beheaded if they were not thus disposed of. Well, then, let Spain do exactly the same; that is, establish these two guarantees,

ni la sociedad anti-esclava, ni nadie podrá oponerse á dicha inmigracion, como á nadie le ha ocurrido oponerse á la de los asiáticos, ó de cualquiera otro pueblo.

Las expediciones de esta clase, que de las costas de Africa fueran despachadas por un consul ó por un comisionado español, y que al llegar á la isla de Cuba fueran examinadas con escrupuloso rigor para evitar todo fraude, y para que no fuera admitido individuo alguno que no trajera su contrata de colono, á la manera que se practica con los asiáticos, llenarian completamente el objeto deseado, sin incurrir en ninguno de los inconvenientes que la mas suspicaz desconfianza pudiera concebir.

La proclama de Mr. Roberts, presidente de la república africana, publicada en el *Heraldo de Liberia*,* que dió lugar á la

* Proclama del Presidente Roberts:—

“ Por quanto los Sres. Hythe, Hodges y C^a de Lóndres, que contrataron con el Gobierno de S. M. B. el suministro de trabajadores de la costa de Africa para las Antillas, han enviado algunos de sus barcos á la costa de la República, ofreciendo un adelanto ó enganche de diez duros á cada persona á la que se pueda inducir á emigrar; y por quanto la extincion del tráfico de esclavos ha dejado á un gran número de trabajadores prediales y de otras clases en poder de los jefes y hombres principales del país, al punto que la oferta de diez duros es casi equivalente á la suma que antes se pagaba por los esclavos, mientras que duró aquella trata, la cual tendia principalmente á suscitar y á sostener las guerras que affigian al país; y por quanto ciertos jefes refractarios, se dice que se han comprometido con los agentes de dicha compañía á suministrar un número de trabajadores, y se sabe ademas que tienen escondido cerca del Gran Cabo Monte á una gran cantidad de víctimas infelices de sus escusiones depredatorias; y por quanto se han dirigido quejas al Gobierno de que se detiene á personas para exportarlas sin su voluntario consentimiento, ó sin el consentimiento de sus tutores naturales; por tanto y á fin de impedir abusos y males que de otro modo podrían resultar de dicha empresa;

“ Hacemos saber por esta proclama á todas las personas á quienes concierne, que debe observarse estrictamente la ley sobre arreglo de pasaportes— Que los barcos que llevan, ó intenten llevar emigrados, deben venir con ellos á este puerto para obtener pasaportes, á fin de que el gobierno pueda cerciorarse oportunamente de si la emigracion es libre ó forzada. Toda violacion de la ley sobre los pasaportes será castigada con la pena mas severa de la ley hecha y sancionada al efecto.”

and no Government, or Anti-slavery Society, or any one else, can oppose themselves to such an immigration, as in fact no one has opposed or ever thought of opposing that of the Chinese or any other people.

The shipment of this kind (which might be despatched from the shores of Africa by a consul or by a Spanish commissioner, and on reaching the island of Cuba undergo a most rigorous search to avoid all fraud, and prevent the admittance of any one not provided with his contract as a colonist, as practised with regard to the Chinese) would amply fulfil the object in view, without incurring any of the inconveniences that the most suspicious distrust could conceive.

The proclamation of Mr. Roberts, the President of the African Republic, published in the *Herald of Liberia*,* which gave rise

* Proclamation of President Roberts:—

“Whereas Messrs. Hythe, Hodges, and Co. of London, who contracted with H. B. M. Government for the supply of labourers from the coast of Africa for the Antilles, have sent some of their ships to the coast of the Republic, offering an advance of ten dollars to every one who may be induced to emigrate; and whereas the extinction of the traffic in slaves has left a great number of farming and other labourers in the hands of the principal chiefs and principal men of the country, at the same time that the offer of ten dollars is nearly an equivalent to the sum formerly paid for slaves whilst that trade was carried on, and which tended principally to promote and continue the wars which distracted the country; and whereas it is reported that certain refractory chiefs have entered into engagements with the agents of the said Company to supply a number of labourers, and it being known, moreover, that they have concealed near the Great Cape Mount a large quantity of the wretched victims of their predatory excursions; and whereas complaints have been addressed to the Government to the effect that persons are detained for the purposes of removal against their will, or against the will of their natural guardians; therefore, with the view of preventing the abuses and evils that might otherwise ensue from the aforesaid undertaking;

“We, by the present proclamation, hereby warn all parties whom it may concern, that the law regarding the arrangement of passports must be strictly observed.—That vessels conveying, or intended for the conveyance of emigrants, must come with them to this port to obtain passports, in order that the Government may be assured that the emigration is voluntary and not forcible. All violations of the law regarding passports will be punished with the utmost rigour of the law made and sanctioned for that purpose.”

importante interpelacion de Lord Brougham al Gobierno británico en la sesion de 30 de Junio ultimo, hace ver que está entablada la inmigracion de africanos para las Antillas inglesas, y sancionada por el mismo Gobierno, ya que el referido presidente respetando estos hechos, limita su poder y su intervencion tan solo á impedir los abusos, obligando á todos los buques fletados para este comercio, á que vayan al lugar de su residencia á sacar sus pasaportes, que otorgará cuando se haya convencido de que son libres y no forzados los individuos que se hallen á bordo.

Haga el Gobierno español lo mismo por medio de sus agentes, uno de los cuales podria serlo el mismo consul español residente en Sierra Leona por lo relativo á toda la costa al norte de aquel punto y estendiendo su jurisdiccion por la que corre al Este hasta el primer grado de long. E. del meridiano de Greenwich.

Otro comisionado podria situarse en Calabar Viejo, que se halla proximamente á los 6 grados lat. N., y 9 long. E; y el tercero en San Pablo de Loando, situado sobre los 9 grados lat. S., y 14 long. E. Con esos tres funcionarios estarian vigiladas las seiscientas leguas de costas interesadas esencialmente en la exportacion de cautivos. Y para que los buques empleados en este trasporte no tuviesen que retroceder, ni desviarse de su rumbo en busca de su habilitacion, así como de pasaportes para los colonos embarcados á su bordo, se les obligaria á tocar en Loando los que procediesen de los puntos al Sur y Este del mismo; en Calabar los que hicieran sus expediciones entre este punto y Loando; y en Sierra Leona los restantes desde Calabar hasta la parte mas occidental. Y aun podria añadirse un cuarto comisionado en la costa oriental con residencia en Sofala, situada á los 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ grados de lat S., y 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ long. E., cuyo punto abrazaria todo el canal de Mozambique, en el que los portugueses han tenido sus principales mercados, los cuales, ya abandonados en el dia con la cesacion de la trata, deben ofrecer en su cambio bastantes colonos.

Si se adoptasen estas disposiciones se lograria mejor el objeto principal de evitar abusos, como en efecto los cortaria segura-

to the important interpellation of Lord Brougham to the British Government in the sitting of Parliament on the 30th of June last, shows, that the immigration of Africans to the Antilles is settled and approved by the Government itself, since that President, bound to respect these facts, limits his power and his interference solely to the prevention of abuses, compelling all vessels freighted for this trade to go on to the place of his residence to procure their passports, which will only be granted after he has convinced himself that the parties on board are so voluntarily, and not by force.

Let the Spanish Government do the same through the medium of its agents, one of whom might be the Spanish consul himself, resident at Sierra Leone, as far as concerned all the coast north of that place, and extending his jurisdiction on the east coast as far as the first degree of long. E. of the meridian of Greenwich.

Another commissioner might be stationed in Old Calabar, which is situated about 6 degrees lat. N., and 9 long. E.; and the third in San Pablo de Loando, situated about 9 degrees lat. S., and 14 long. E. With the help of these three officers the 600 leagues or 1800 miles of coast principally interested in the exportation of captives would be well watched. And in order that the vessels employed in this transport might not have to go back or deviate from their course in search of the necessary powers, as also for passports for the colonists shipped on board, those proceeding from the points south and east of Loando should be obliged to touch there; those, making their voyages between Calabar and Loando, should be obliged to touch at the former point; and the rest, from Calabar to the most western point, should be compelled to touch at Sierra Leone. And even a fourth commissioner might be appointed for the east coast, fixing his residence in Sofala, situated lat. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees S., and long. 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ E.; this point embracing the entire channel of Mozambique, in which the Portuguese had established their markets, and which being now abandoned by the cessation of their trade in slaves, must afford in exchange a large supply of colonists.

If these arrangements were to be adopted, the best means would be secured for preventing abuses, as they would in fact

mente la inmediata inspección de cada comisionado sobre su demarcación respectiva.

Por medio de los referidos comisionados, los cuales deberían recorrer los varios puntos de la costa a bordo de los mismos buques cargadores, a los cuales se les obligaría con tal designio a tocar también a la ida en uno de los cuatro centros indicados, que más les acomodase, quedaría bien observada y atendida aquella extensa playa, en la que el antiguo tráfico había formado esos mercados tan combatidos, los cuales quedarían purificados de sus anteriores manchas desde el momento en que proscrita de un modo absoluto la palabra esclavitud, recibieran aquellas desgraciadas víctimas de sus guerras civiles el bautismo de colonos, y colonos solemnemente garantizados por la buena fe del Gobierno español.*

* El Ministro de las Colonias en 1851, Sir John Russell, en su despacho de 20 de Marzo de aquel año al Gobernador de Sierra Leona, reduce a tres puntos las garantías que deben fijarse para la exportación de los colonos africanos; a saber—

1. Que el agente encargado por el Gobierno de intervenir en la citada emigración, evite todo manejo engañoso que pudiera intentarse en el enganche de los referidos emigrados.
2. Que impida asimismo las sustituciones fraudulentas de dichos colonos después de enganchados.
3. Que provea al buen trato durante el pasaje.

Bajo estas bases salieron en aquella época de treinta y seis a cuarenta mil colonos para las Antillas inglesas, y han ido saliendo sucesivamente, y salen en la actualidad en cantidades muy crecidas, como lo ha confesado el mismo Gobierno británico en la sesión del Parlamento a la que me he referido.

Con estos hechos a la vista no puede de modo alguno embarazar dicho Gobierno la acción del nuestro para llevar a cabo la misma idea, ofreciendo iguales garantías que las que dió al Parlamento el Lord Grey respecto de la confianza que le inspiraba la casa concesionaria del buen uso que había de hacer del permiso otorgado para trasportar africanos libres a las colonias inglesas, así como del cabal cumplimiento de las obligaciones impuestas.

at once put an end to the immediate inspection of each commissioner throughout his respective district.

By means of these commissioners, who should personally visit the various points along the coast on board the vessels destined for the conveyance of the emigrants, which would also be compelled for that purpose to touch on their passage thither at either of the four mentioned places, as may be most convenient for them, a strict observance and attention could be directed to these extensive shores along which the old traffic had established the markets so clamoured against; and which would thus be purified from their former stains as soon as the word slavery had become proscribed, and the unhappy victims of their civil wars had received the baptism of colonists, and with it the solemn guarantee of the Spanish Government.*

* The Colonial Minister in 1851, Sir John Russell, in his despatch of 20th March of the same year to the Governor of Sierra Leone, reduces to three points the guarantees which should be fixed for the exportation of African colonists, viz.

1. That the agent commissioned by Government to interfere in the aforesaid emigration should prevent all deceptive management that might be attempted in the enrolment of the said emigrants.
2. That he should prevent fraudulent substitution of the said colonists after their enrolment.
3. That he should provide good treatment during the passage.

On these bases from thirty-six to forty thousand colonists departed at that time for the English Antilles, and a similar emigration has continued ever since, and still continues on a very large scale, as the British Government has acknowledged in the sitting of Parliament to which I have referred.

With these facts in view, the British Cabinet cannot hinder in any way the acts of the Spanish Government in carrying out a similar idea, if they offer the same guarantees as those given before Parliament by Lord Grey respecting the confidence he felt as to the good use which would be made of the permission granted to the firm in operation for the transport of free Africans to the English colonies, as well as of their entire compliance with the obligations imposed upon them.

SEGUNDA PARTE.

HABIENDO leido en el mismo dia de mi llegada á Lóndres (1º de Setiembre) un largo artículo que habia publicado en el dia anterior el periódico titulado *The Daily News*, en el cual se me atribuia una imaginaria comision del Capitan General de la isla de Cuba para sondear el ánimo de los ingleses, y hacerle ganar con mis esfuerzos sobre la opinion pública el terreno que se suponia habia perdido el referido General, dirigi una breve contestacion al Editor de dicho periódico, quien la insertó el dia 7; y en ella afirmaba del modo mas positivo que yo no era agente de nadie, aunque me honraba con su amistad, y que viajaba por mi cuenta y por mi conveniencia.

Empero como al mismo tiempo se habia dirigido á mí para que solventase una porcion de preguntas envueltas en recriminaciones contra el Gobierno español, y contra las autoridades de Cuba, satisfice, aunque muy laconicamente sus deseos, rechazando aquellos ultrajes, y ofreciendo entrar sucesivamente en el deslinde y en la refutacion de tan absurdas acusaciones, habiendo suplicado al público que suspendiera su juicio hasta que hubiera podido organizar mis trabajos para dar la ilustracion competente á los varios puntos que abrazaba el expresado artículo.

Forzoso es pues cumplir con un deber que voluntariamente me he impuesto como español amante de mi patria, y como caballero que no puedo sufrir que sean calumniados mis amigos, y denigradas injustamente personas altamente caracterizadas. Y desempeñaré esta gratuita mision con tanto mayor gusto, cuanto que quedando dicha defensa consignada de un modo permanente en esta Memoria, podrá servir para contener ulteriormente las calumnias y denigraciones que de mi se han hecho.

P A R T II.

HAVING read on the day of my arrival in London (the 1st Sept.) a long article published in *The Daily News* of the 31st August, in which an imaginary commission was attributed to me from the Captain General of the island of Cuba, for the purpose of ascertaining the public opinion of this country as regards his person, and for making every effort to regain the ground which he was supposed to have lost, I addressed a brief answer to the Editor of that paper, which was inserted on the 7th of that month, assuring him that I was in nowise the agent of any person, although I was honoured with the friendship of the General, and was travelling on my own account and for my own pleasure.

As, however, at the same time the author of that article called upon me to answer a number of questions which were couched in recriminative language against the Spanish Government and against the authorities of Cuba, I complied, though briefly, with his desire, protesting against the offensiveness thereof, and offering to enter at once upon the refutation of such absurd accusations, requesting the public to suspend its judgment until I could prepare myself to give more perfect explanations of the several topics alluded to in that article.

It becomes, therefore, necessary for me to fulfil a duty, which I have gratuitously imposed upon myself, as a Spaniard who loves his country, and as a man of honor who cannot allow his friends to be calumniated, nor the character of highly respectable persons to be tarnished. And I shall perform this voluntary task with increased pleasure by knowing that as my defence will be expounded in a permanent form in this Memoir, it may

riores irrupciones, y para tapar la boca á nuestros enemigos siempre dispuestos á esgrimir las armas de la detraccion, olvidando, ó desatendiendo las razones que mas de una vez se han alegado para desvanecer los equivocados conceptos de la prensa, y embotar sus venenosos tiros.

Dice el articulista que "si el Capitan General de Cuba quisiera emplear activamente las numerosas tropas y buques de guerra de que puede disponer, se podia dar por concluida la trata de negros, mayormente cuando los hijos del pais rechazan este trafico, que queda esclusivamente vinculado en las manos de algunos codiciosos europeos, protegidos por la apatia, por la corrupcion, y por la venalidad del gobierno de Cuba, hasta el punto de haber sido conducidos algunos esclavos abordo de los mismos vapores correos que enarbolaban la bandera real de Espana."

Inconcebible parece que se hayan acumulado tantos disparates en tan pocas palabras. El ejercito y la marina de Cuba, por respetables que sean, tienen que atender de preferencia á la defensa y conservacion de la isla, y seria una ridiculez exigir que abandonasen su principal mision por correr tras de contrabandistas, los cuales si bien son criminales, porque obran en oposicion á la ley vigente, no pueden menos de tener las mayores simpatias en el pais, ya que como se ha dicho mas de una vez, el ramo de industria en que se ejercitan, por mas odioso que sea en politica, favorece en gran manera los intereses materiales. Es por lo tanto un error creer que solo los Europeos lo protegen, porque lo desean del mismo modo los naturales, excepto los muy pocos que no tienen alguna propiedad ó que abrigan todavia ideas revolucionarias, y quisieran promover conflictos á la Espana. Estos son los que dirigen anónimos al Consul británico, y aun comunicaciones directas, abultando y desfigurando los desembarcos que se hacen por las playas mas desiertas, burlando la natural vigilancia de los agentes del Gobierno.

Carece absolutamente de fundamento el cargo que se dirige

perhaps, serve to restrain future hasty ebullitions, and silence our enemies, who are ever ready to grasp the same poisonous weapons, forgetting or disregarding the reasons that have been so often adduced to remove the erroneous opinions of the Press, and blunt its envenomed shafts.

The writer of the article in question says, "That if the Captain General of Cuba was willing to employ actively all the troops and men of war at his disposal, the slave trade might be considered at an end, more especially since the natives or Creoles themselves reject this traffic, which remains exclusively confined to the hands of a few covetous Europeans protected by the apathy, corruption, and venality of the Cuban Government, even to the extent of conveying slaves on board the mail steamers bearing the Royal banner of Spain."

It appears impossible that so many absurdities could have been heaped into so few words. The army and navy of Cuba, whatever their force, must be employed for the defence of the island, and the preservation of its tranquillity in preference to anything else ; and it would be ridiculous to require them to abandon the main object they have in view to run after smugglers, who, however culpable they may be for acting in opposition to the laws in force, cannot nevertheless fail to have in their favour the best sympathies of their countrymen ; for, as it has been said more than once, the branch of business to which their energies are devoted, however odious in a political view, is still greatly to the advantage of the real interests of the country. It is, therefore, an error to believe that Europeans alone countenance it, since it is equally desired by all the natives, saving a very small number of men, who having no property, or still clinging to revolutionary ideas, would wish to perplex the Spanish Government. These are the parties who address themselves anonymously and even openly to the British Consul, exaggerating and misrepresenting the landing of slaves effected on the most desert part of the coast in spite of the regular vigilance of the Government officers.

The charge set up against the mail steamers of landing slaves

á los buques correos, sobre desembarcar esclavos, á menos que no se quiera considerar como un crimen el trasporte que de vez en cuando suelen hacer de algunos de ellos de una finca á otra sobre puntos de la costa, ó los que vienen de Puerto Rico en el vapor correo de España, lo que sucede bien pocas veces, y aun en muy cortas cantidades, y siempre provistos de los competentes pasaportes para probar su legítimo origen. Estos son los únicos negros que entran en los vapores, como es regular que entren para cualquier viaje ó traslacion que sus amos respectivos determinen.

Lo absurdo de este cargo resalta mas con las siguientes reflexiones. Para que los negros de contrabando entrasen en los vapores correos, sería preciso que el buque contrabandista los estuviera aguardando á cierta distancia de la costa, y que al verlos cruzar, se aproximase á ellos, y que con el mayor escándalo y en presencia de todos los pasajeros, entre los cuales siempre hay ingleses y otros extranjeros, se les trasbordase, y que el capitán y los oficiales tuviesen tan poca vergüenza que luego los desembarcaran publicamente sin temer la acre censura de dichos pasajeros, ni las declaraciones que habrian de dar de tamaña atrocidad, ni la accion del Gobierno, que por mas apática que se la quiera pintar, no podria menos de apoderarse de dichos esclavos, si quiera para evitar reclamaciones por un escándalo tan público.

Por otra parte los contrabandistas no podrian efectuar esta operacion sin correr un grave riesgo de ser apresados por los cruceros ingleses que conocen bien los puntos de recalada en que deben situarse, y que los persiguen con tanto encarnizamiento que solo se salvan algunos de dichos negreros en fuerza de su valentía, y de la velocidad de sus buques, con los cuales suelen arrojarse entre los escollos cuando se ven apurados, desembarcando precipitadamente la mercancía, y pegando fuego ó anegando dichos buques, para que no quede rastro de ellos, lo cual no es dificil de efectuar en una costa de 700 leguas, llena de cayos y de bajos fondos. Ademas como los armadores salen muy gananciosos aun cuando no salven mas que uno de cada

is entirely groundless, unless, indeed, it be considered a crime occasionally to convey slaves from one estate to another along the coast, or from Porto Rico; and even then to a trifling extent, and always under the protection of the necessary passports to prove their legitimate source. These are the only negroes that are ever received on board the steamers—a practice that cannot be objected to, as when once they become the property of another person they may be taken wheresoever it best suits his interest to transport them.

The following reflections will show more clearly the absurdity of these accusations. In order that the smuggled negroes might be got on board the mail steamers, the slave vessels would have to await them, and upon their appearance would have to approach as near as possible, and transfer them at once with the utmost effrontery, and in the presence of all the passengers, among whom some Englishmen and other foreigners are always to be found. The captain and the officers of the steamers must be void of every feeling of shame to receive and afterwards land such slaves, regardless of the severe censure of the passengers and of the protests that they would undoubtedly enter against such atrocities, as also of the interference of the Government, which, notwithstanding the general negligence attributed to it, could not do less than seize the slaves to avoid at least any claim for so public a breach of international law.

On the other hand, the smugglers could not effect this transfer without running the risk of being taken by the English cruisers, who are perfectly acquainted with the places at which the smugglers would appear; and who pursue them with such eagerness that the only chance of the slaves getting away is through the bravery of the crew, and the swiftness of their ships; and not unoften by throwing themselves amongst the shoals, and burning or sinking their vessels, when the merchandize has been precipitately landed, so that not a vestige of them may remain, which rash act can be easily executed upon a coast extending 700 leagues and full of shoals and rocks. Moreover, as the promoters of these expeditions secure a large profit, even though they save

cinco buques que echen á la mar, debe ser menor la estrañeza por su insistencia en dicho tráfico á pesar de la persecucion que sufren por todas partes.

Dice asimismo el articulista—“que nunca han entrado en Cuba tantos negros como en los primeros seis meses de este año, lo cual ha escitado la mayor indignacion en Inglaterra y en América; y que el General Cañedo deberia poner en libertad dichos esclavos si queria crearse algunas simpatias entre ambos pueblos, y alcanzar perdon por sus culpas y pecados.”

Yo no creo que la introduccion de esclavos en la época á que se alude, haya sido tan escesiva como se pinta; pero aun cuando hubiera sido mayor que en las anteriores, debe atribuirse á dos causas principales; á saber, á la ocupacion de nuestra escuadra en el servicio preferente que demandaban los esfuerzos que estaban haciendo en los Estados Unidos los afiliados en la *Estrella Solitaria* y otros enemigos del reposo público; y tambien á la considerable baja de jornaleros, producida por la epidemia de estos últimos años, por lo cual se pagaban los negros de todas edades á 600 pesos, dejando á los defraudadores un lucro exorbitante.

Dificil será deslindar si ahora ó antes entraron mas ó entraron menos; pero bien puede asegurarse que nunca han sido perseguidos con tanto rigor, y lo prueban las quejas muy sentidas de una parte del comercio de la isla contra el General Cañedo, y los esfuerzos que se estan haciendo para derribarlo de su elevado puesto. Critica es por cierto la posicion de este distinguido funcionario. La prensa inglesa lo ataca rudamente y sin los miramientos que en todas partes se tienen aun con las personas mas oscuras y de rango inferior, y algunos individuos del comercio español le hacen una cruda guerra por todos los medios que estan á su alcance. ¿Qué debe hacer el General Cañedo en medio de este doble y encarnizado combate? ¿Qual será su linea de conducta? Bien puede asegurarse que será la misma que tiene establecida, y que la seguirá sin necesidad de que nadie se lo aconseje, porque tiene bastante talento y sólido juicio para dominar cualquiera situacion por angustiosa que sea. Se man-

only one vessel out of every five they fit out, it is not to be wondered at that they persevered in this kind of commerce in spite of the strong means adopted to suppress it.

The next charge goes on to state—"That at no other period have so many slaves been introduced as in the first six months of the present year, which fact has excited the utmost indignation both in England and in the United States; and that General Cañedo ought to free these slaves, if he wishes to gain any sympathy in either of the countries, and forgiveness of his sins and misdeeds."

I do not believe that the introduction of slaves, during the period referred to, has been so excessive as represented; but even had it been greater than before, it must be especially attributed to two reasons:—viz., the occupation of our squadrons in the preferential service, rendered necessary on account of the efforts making in the United States by the *Lone Star Society*, and other enemies of our public tranquillity; and to the falling off of labourers, in consequence of the sickness which has devastated the island of late years, and which has increased the price of negroes of all ages to 600 dollars, thus leaving the smugglers an exorbitant profit.

It would be difficult to ascertain whether more slaves are brought in now than formerly, but I can affirm that never have the traders been persecuted with so much severity as at present; and the proof of this truth is the bitter complaints of a portion of the merchants of Havana against General Cañedo, and the strong exertions they are making to remove him from the high position he now holds. Critical, indeed, is the situation in which this worthy officer is placed—the English press attacks him remorselessly, and without the consideration commonly shown to persons even of an inferior rank; and some of the Spanish merchants make open war against him by all the means in their power. What course should General Cañedo pursue in this double and fierce struggle? What should be the line of conduct adopted? There can be no doubt that the one he has established is the best for him to follow, and this he will continue to act upon without requiring any advice on the subject, for he

tendrá impávido entre los dos fuegos, obrando siempre con rectitud y justicia, despreciando las vulgares hablillas, así como las injurias que contra él vomiten los periodistas sea por mala voluntad ó lo que es mas creible, por equivocados conceptos, ó por absurdos informes.

Y lo que se nota de mas peregrino en el párrafo de que me estoy ocupando es la sujestion del remedio para que al General Cañedo se le perdonen sus culpas y pecados ; á saber, el de que se apodere de todos los negros que hayan entrado en este año en la isla de Cuba, y los emancipe. Solo la ignorancia puede proponer ideas de imposible realizacion. ¡Sabe el articulista la dirección que toman los negros tan pronto como han franqueado las barreras de la ley? Se dividen en mil partes, y aunque los mas se quedan en los ingenios, no pocos pasan á los cafetales, vegas de tabaco, haciendas de labor y de ganado, y á los puntos mas distantes y menos conocidos. Con una pesquisa tan inquisitorial como la que desea el articulista, es indudable que se encontrarían algunos de dichos bozales ; pero de qué modo? Desmoralizando completamente las dotaciones, y derramando semillas de insurrección, como no puede menos de derramarlas todo agente del Gobierno que se constituya en una finca á residenciar á su dueño examinando uno por uno sus esclavos, careándolos entre sí, y dejándolos entrever que tales averiguaciones tienden á su emancipacion. ¡Horrorosos serían los efectos de estas esploraciones domiciliarias ; efectos sangrientos que no pueden ser calculados sino por los que se hallan sobre el teatro de la accion !

Desde ahora puedo asegurar que una parte, y no pequeña, de los hacendados abandonaría sus fincas á los agentes del Gobierno si fuera posible que se cometiera la torpeza que indica el articulista en cuestión, es decir si el Gobierno quisiera suicidarse abandonando á sus enemigos la única arma, la sola garantía de la conservación de la propiedad esclava. Tal es, á lo menos, la

has sufficient talent and sound judgment to preside over any position however embarrassing it may be. He will keep himself undaunted between the two fires, ever acting with rectitude and justice, despising vulgar rumours, as also the contumely lavished on him by the press, whether from ill-will, or what is more probable, from erring opinions or absurd information.

But the most curious part of the paragraph in question, is the remedy suggested for General Cañedo's obtaining forgiveness of his faults and sins; viz., that he should take possession of all the negroes that have been brought into the island of Cuba during the present year, and emancipate them. Ignorance alone could suggest ideas of so impossible a realization. Does the writer of the article perchance know what course the negroes take as soon as they are freed from the control of the laws? They divide themselves into numerous parties, and although most of them remain on the sugar plantations, nevertheless a considerable number go over to the coffee and tobacco estates, farms, &c. &c., and to the most distant and least known quarters. By an inquisitorial enquiry, such as the author of this article would desire, there is no doubt that some of these newly imported negroes might be found; but by what means? By demoralizing completely the whole race, and by sowing the seeds of insurrection that must inevitably be sown by any agent of government, who enters into an estate and interferes with the rights of its owners, examining his slaves one by one, confronting them with him, and letting them perceive that each investigation tends towards their emancipation. Horrible would be the effects of these intrusive explorations, and the sanguinary results of which can alone be estimated by those who are on the scene of action!

I can at once assert that a portion, and not a small one, of the landowners would abandon their estates to the agents of Government, if it were possible that the obnoxious measures, suggested by the writer of the article in question, were to be carried out, that is, if the Government would surrender itself to its enemies, by placing in their hands the only weapon of defence and the sole guarantee of the preservation of its slave property.

opinion de algunos amos de ingenios, emitida en mi presencia, cuando se vieron amenazados de un golpe tan tremendo.

Si de alguna espiacion necesita el General Cañedo no es ciertamente de la clase que expresan sus acusadores, sino por haber hecho demasiado á favor de las exigencias inglesas, y por haber incurrido en alguna estralimitacion oficiosa, si bien es de esperar que no recibirá mengua alguna su distinguido nombre, ya por lo laudable del motivo que lo ha impulsado, y ya por las instrucciones que haya recibido de la superioridad. Por lo tanto no habrá quien no convenga en que la prensa inglesa ha estado muy poco feliz al dirigir tan acerbas recriminaciones á quien menos pudiera merecerlas, porque el efecto inmediato ha de ser de que cualquiera autoridad que suceda al General Cañedo en el mando de Cuba, se guardará muy bien de hacer clase alguna de concesion contemporizadora, teniendo presente que ha sido mas maltratado el que mas pruebas había dado de su deseo de concluir con la trata de esclavos, hasta el punto de haber comprometido su responsabilidad personal, y de haberse creado enemigos formidables.

Véanse pues las consecuencias de los bruscos ataques dirigidos con tanta ignorancia como injusticia contra funcionarios que tienen muchos y muy brillantes títulos para ser respetados.

Empero lo mas erroneo y lo mas curioso de todo es la declaracion dada por el Capitan Hamilton el dia 15 de Julio ultimo, ante el comité de la Casa de los Comunes. Con tales informantes ya no es de extrañar que la opinion esté tan estraviada, y que la prensa incurra en errores tan crasos como los que estoy rebatiendo, y en inculpaciones tan duras contra personas dignas de la mayor consideracion. ¿Qué conocimiento puede tener el Capitan Hamilton de los verdaderos hechos de la isla de Cuba, no digo de los politicos y gubernativos, sino ni aun de los públicos? El que le haya podido ser transmitido durante su corta permanencia en el pais, no por las personas sensatas y juiciosas, á las que desde luego aseguro que no se ha dirigido, ó con las que no se le ha puesto en contacto, ni ha sido fácil que se pusiera por falta de conocimiento en el idioma, sino por con-

Such, at least, was the opinion of some of the planters expressed in my presence when they saw themselves threatened with such a terrific blow.

If General Cañedo was under the necessity of making any atonement at all, it would certainly not be of the character required by his accusers, but rather for having shown too much favor to the demands of the English, and for having even somewhat exceeded his powers; but it is to be hoped that no attempts will be made to injure his distinguished name, both on account of the laudable motives which have actuated his conduct, and the instructions which he doubtless must have received from the Government. Every one must therefore agree that the English press has chosen a most inopportune moment for addressing such bitter recriminations to the very person who least deserved them, because the immediate consequences will be, that any authority, that may succeed General Cañedo in the command of Cuba, will be very careful not to make any similar concessions, bearing in mind the injuries done to him who had given the greatest proofs of his desire to put down the slave trade, regardless of compromising his responsibility and making powerful enemies.

These would be the consequences of the rude attacks directed with no less ignorance than injustice against officers possessing numerous and the brightest titles to be respected.

But the most erroneous and curious of all is the declaration made by Captain Hamilton, on the 15th of July last, before the Committee of the House of Commons. With such informants it is no wonder that the public ideas are misled, and that the press falls into such gross errors as those which I am now refuting, and gives vent to such harsh accusations against persons deserving of the utmost consideration. What knowledge can Captain Hamilton have of the real state of the island of Cuba? I do not say only as regards the political and administrative but even the public affairs? Simply what he has learned during his short residence in the country, not through the medium of sensible and judicious personages, for to such I at once affirm he has not directed his enquiries, possibly not having come in contact with them, and which was the more likely since igno-

ducto de algunos anexionistas anglo-americanos residentes en Cuba, ó de unos pocos naturales del país que han recibido su educación en los Estados Unidos, los cuales empapados, algunos de ellos, en las ideas de desafección al Gobierno español, desearían verlo envuelto en graves conflictos.

Si el Capitán Hamilton quisiera ser franco, confesaría que es exacta mi suposición, porque solo estas personas son las que han podido darle á sabiendas unas noticias tan monstruosamente falsas, ya que yo le hago la justicia de creer que no las ha inventado. Solo los que tienen un empeño en hacinar combustible á la hoguera de los resentimientos para indisponer al Gobierno español con el inglés, y enflaquecer las buenas relaciones que han existido hasta el día; solo ese puñado despreciable de hombres sería capaz de fraguar calumnias tan atroces; y lo que todavía es más villano y más perfido, de comprometer el buen nombre del Capitán Hamilton (porque en medio del daño que ha inferido, quiero creer que no ha obrado con malicia) para dar una declaración completamente errónea, sobre la cual ha formulado al parecer su acusación el articulista, ya que se encuentran en ambas iguales cargos.

Al de que en la isla de Cuba por estar actualmente bien defendida por fuerzas de mar y tierra, no debería entrar un solo esclavo si las autoridades quisieran obrar con rectitud, puedo añadir á lo que ya se ha dicho anteriormente, que aun cuando dichas fuerzas abandonasen el servicio principal por correr en persecución de los contrabandistas, lograrian desminuir el citado comercio, mas no cerrarle completamente la puerta. La prueba de la inexactitud de la declaración de este oficial sobre el segundo cargo de que la opinión de los naturales de Cuba está más fuertemente pronunciada contra la admisión de negros que en el Brasil, se halla en la ansiedad con que esos mismos individuos se lanzan á adquirir colonos asiáticos, desembolsando ocho y más onzas de oro por cada uno de ellos, y obligándose á pagar cuatro pesos mensuales de jornal después de mantenidos, vestidos y

rance of their language would render such intercourse doubly difficult; but he has acquired his knowledge through some Anglo-American annexionists, resident in Cuba, or from some creoles who have been brought up in the United States, and some of whom having imbibed ideas of disaffection towards the Spanish Government would like to see it involved in sad disturbances.

If Captain Hamilton were willing to speak with frankness, he would confess that my supposition is quite correct, as persons of this character could alone have afforded him such absurdly false information, since I do him the justice of believing that it is not his own invention. Such people alone as are bent upon adding fuel to fire for the purpose of creating dissension between the Spanish and English Governments, and upsetting the friendly relations that have hitherto existed; such a handful of miscreants, I say, could alone have been guilty of forging such atrocious calumnies; and what is even more villainous and perfidious of compromising the good name of Captain Hamilton, (for in spite of the mischief he has been the occasion of causing, I am willing to believe that he has not been actuated by malice) in making so utterly erroneous a declaration; upon which the author of the article in question has apparently based his accusation, as the same charges are contained in both.

In reply to the first of these charges, which goes on to say, that considering the present defences of the island of Cuba both by sea and land, not a single slave could be smuggled, if the authorities were willing to act honestly, I may add to what I have already stated, that if such forces were to abandon their main object, to run after these smugglers, they might, perhaps, succeed in diminishing the traffic, but never in utterly suppressing it.

A proof of the incorrectness of this officer's statements in regard to the second accusation—viz. that the opinions of the natives against the admission of slaves is more powerfully expressed in Cuba than in Brazil, is to be found in the eagerness with which the former press forward to secure Chinese colonists at an outlay of eight or more doubloons each, besides engaging

curados de sus enfermedades, sin embargo de que el trabajo del asiático está considerado por muy inferior al del africano para la agricultura.

Siendo incontestables estos hechos, se desprende de ellos la necesaria consecuencia de que los naturales del país, del mismo modo que los peninsulares y cuantos tengan algun ramo de industria han de desear ardientemente la entrada de aquellos brazos que les son mas útiles; de lo que se deduce asimismo que la alusión del Capitan Hamilton no puede comprender sino á lo sumo alguna docena de individuos sin casa ni hogar, como los hay en todas partes, que ridículamente se dicen órganos de una opinión formada en sus débiles cerebros, y sujerida por sus malos instintos. Esta mínima parte la ha tomado sin duda el Sr. Hamilton por el todo, cuando dice que cuantos han nacido en Cuba desean el sistema Americano. Horrible injuria que se hace á los habitantes de aquellos países, los cuales en todas épocas, y señaladamente en las últimas tentativas de los revolucionarios de los Estados Unidos, han dejado bien acreditada su fidelidad y adhesión al Gobierno español, y su aversión á dicho sistema americano y á todo otro sistema importado por extranjeros, quienes no pueden tener otro interés sino el de enriquecerse á expensas, y aun con la ruina del país!

Al cargo tercero—de que los que se ejercitan en el tráfico negrero son esclusivamente españoles con fondos de los mas ricos capitalistas, y aun de las mas nobles familias, y de las mas elevadas personas de la Península, responderé, en primer lugar, que no tiene nada de extraño que los fondos sean de capitalistas españoles, y que los traficantes pertenezcan á la misma nación, ya que todo el comercio de la isla de Cuba está casi vinculado en sus manos, habiéndose dedicado los naturales del país de preferencia á explotar la aurífera mina de la agricultura; y en segundo lugar, que es otra vulgaridad, ó mas bien una refinada malicia, mezclar en este comercio personas de elevada esfera política, pues puedo asegurar sin temor de que se me desmienta, que ni una sola de dichas personas ha tenido jamas parte en estas

to pay them four dollars per month, and providing them with food, clothing, and attendance during sickness; although at the same time the Chinese labourer is far inferior to the African for agriculture.

These facts being incontestible, it is but a natural inference that the creoles, as well as the Spaniards of the Peninsula, and all others possessing any branch of industry, must ardently desire the importation of such labourers as are most useful to them; and hence it also follows, that Captain Hamilton's allusions can only comprise at the most some dozen individuals, without house or home, who are to be met with in all parts, and who ridiculously set themselves up as the organs of an opinion formed in their own disordered imagination, prompted by their wicked instincts. This small fraction Mr. Hamilton has undoubtedly taken for the whole community when he asserts, that every one born in Cuba is a partisan of the American system. A most grievous wrong is thus done to the inhabitants of these countries, who at all times, and more particularly in the late attempts of the revolutionists from the United States, have given the strongest proofs of their fidelity and attachment to the Spanish Government, and their aversion to the American system, as well as any system sought to be introduced by other foreigners, who can be instigated by no other motives than to enrich themselves at the expense, and even at the ruin, of the country.

To the third charge, viz., that those interested in the slave trade are exclusively Spaniards, supplied with funds by the richest capitalists, by members of the most noble families, and by the highest personages in the Peninsula,—I shall reply by stating, in the first place, that it is in nowise astonishing that the funds should be found by Spanish capitalists, and that the traders should belong to the same nation, since the commerce of the island of Cuba is almost entirely confined to this class, the natives devoting themselves in preference to exploring the golden mine of agriculture. In the second place, that it is a vulgar error, or rather refined malice, to connect with trade the names of persons of the highest political sphere, for I can affirm, without fear of contradiction, that not a single one of the

expediciones; en cuyo error no habria incurrido por cierto el Capitan Hamilton, si hubiera conocido el modo de efectuarse aquellos armamentos.

Debe pues saber el estraviado declarante que cuando se proyecta alguna de las indicadas expediciones se abre, por supuesto muy reservadamente, una lista de suscripcion en la que cada uno de los iniciados firma por la parte que quiere llevar en aquella especulacion, admitiendose hasta pequeñas cantidades de quinientos ó mil pesos. Y para operaciones de esta clase, para las que se hallan siempre de sobra gentes del pais que se interesen en ellas, confiadas en el nunca quebrantado secreto, que invalida completamente la accion del Gobierno ; que necesidad hay de recurrir á los grandes capitalistas de la Peninsula ? Vease como no hay clase alguna de congruencia para formular cargos tan desatinados, que no tienen otro objeto sino el de lastimar personas de alta jerarquia.

Conviniendo, pues, en que son los europeos los que importan los esclavos, pero no tan esclusivamente que dejen de interesarse en estas expediciones algunos hijos del pais, son éstos por lo ménos los que compran la mayor parte de la citada mercancía, como que poseyendo casi toda la propiedad agrícola, son los que mas necesitan de brazos. Hé aqui como unos y otros concurren á alimentar aquel tráfico, y lo alimentaran á pesar de todas las persecuciones de los Gobiernos ingles y español, en tanto que subsistiendo la necesidad de operarios como en el dia, rinda la enunciada importacion utilidades tan pingües como las que he indicado anteriormente, á menos que no se adopte el plan de la colonizacion africana.

Al cargo cuarto del Capitan Hamilton—de que son los españoles, y señaladamente los empleados del Gobierno, los que tienen mas interes en que continue la trata de esclavos, porque segun la voz pública el Capitan-General recibe por cada uno de ellos tres onzas ó sea once libras, y el General de Marina una onza ; y que todo agente del Gobierno que trata de oponerse á dicho tráfico es separado al momento de su destino, contesto que

parties hinted at ever had any share in these expeditions ; and Captain Hamilton would not have fallen into such an error if he had been acquainted with the manner in which such shipments are effected.

This very misled informant should know, that when any of the expeditions in question are projected, a subscription list is opened ; but of course with the utmost privacy, in which every one of the partners signs for the share he is desirous of taking in the speculation, the smallest sums, such as five hundred or a thousand dollars, being admitted. And for undertakings of this kind, in which there are always a superabundance of natives willing to join, relying upon the never-violated secrecy which completely invalidates the action of Government, what necessity is there to have recourse to the great capitalists of the Peninsula ? It is, therefore, obvious that there are not the slightest grounds for setting up such foolish charges, which can have no other object than to wound the feelings of parties of the highest rank in society.

Taking it for granted, then, that it is the Europeans who import the slaves, but not so entirely as to exclude the natives of the country from some participation, it is at least the latter who buy the greatest part of this merchandize, as being the owners of almost all the agricultural land, they are the parties who stand most in need of labourers. It is, therefore, clear that both parties unite in upholding that traffic, and will continue to do so in spite of all the persecutions of the English and Spanish Governments, whilst the want of labourers, as at present, renders such importation as profitable as I have already stated, unless the plan of African colonization be adopted.

To the fourth charge, in reference to which Captain Hamilton says, that it is the Spaniards, and more especially the Government officers, who are most interested in the continuation of the slave trade ; for according to public report, the Captain-General receives three doubloons, or say eleven pounds sterling for every slave, and the General of the Navy one doubloon ; and that all the agents of the Government who are suspected of opposing

no es fácil reunir tantos disparates á la vez. Esta declaracion tan altamente injuriosa, aunque apoyada meramente en razones vulgares, no salva al Capitan Hamilton de una grave responsabilidad, como no me salvaria yo, por ejemplo, si declarase á la faz pública, ó ante una corporacion respetable cuyos actos supiere que habian de ser publicados, que habia oido decir que el mismo Capitan Hamilton, ó cualquiera otro, era un cobarde ó un falsario. Así como dicho señor tendria derecho para perseguirme por lo menos como propalador de calumnias, porque yo no debia arrojar sobre su cara (aunque con referencia á la voz pública) tan atrozes insultos sin probarlos, del mismo modo las personas injuriadas en la declaracion del referido Capitan Hamilton tienen derecho para presentar sus reclamaciones á los tribunales competentes, como no dudo que las presentaran como primer paso que aconseja la prudencia; y en los tribunales se les hará justicia, y su opinion saldrá tan acrisolada como el oro, y se pronunciará contra el Capitan Hamilton el fallo de la ley; y servira esta causa de saludable leccion para que no se repitan escenas tan escandalosas. No tengo la menor duda de que tal ha de ser el resultado ante un tribunal severamente justo, sin necesidad de apelar á otros medios de obtener una amplia satisfaccion, de que no puede dispensarse ningun caballero que tenga honor y vergüenza.

El Capitan Hamilton aparece siempre culpable, por lo menos de lijereza ó impremeditacion, pues que palabras tan ofensivas como las que han salido de su boca, aunque no formuladas por el mismo, no se pronuncian ó por lo menos no se dan al público sin tener á la mano las pruebas y los medios de defensa. Algo habria podido atenuar su culpa, si á lo menos hubiera agregado lo que en tales casos suele decirse siquiera por moralidad, ya que no fuera por cortesía, á saber, que "si bien habian llegado á sus oídos aquellos cargos tan injuriosos no se atrevia á creerlos," &c. Con la omision de esta salvedad, ha acogido ya como suya la opinion de los calumniadores—primera falta: la ha

such traffic, are at once removed from the post they may hold, —I reply by stating, that it is somewhat difficult to connect so many absurdities together. Although this highly injurious declaration is simply based upon vulgar reports, Captain Hamilton is not, on that account, shielded from a serious responsibility, equal to what I should myself incur if, for example, I were to declare publicly, or before a respectable assembly whose acts I knew would be made public, that I had heard that Captain Hamilton or any other person was a coward or a liar. As that gentleman would, at the least, have the right to prosecute me as the propagator of such calumnies, why I should not hurl back in his face (although with reference to public rumours) such atrocious insults, as he has uttered, without being able to support them, in the same manner the parties injured by Captain Hamilton's declaration have the right to institute proceedings before competent tribunals, and I doubt not they will do so as the first step suggested by prudence; and such tribunals will do them justice, and their opinions will shine forth as spotless as the sun, and the sentence of the law will be pronounced against Captain Hamilton, and this case may serve as a salutary lesson to prevent the repetition of such scandalous occurrences. I have not the slightest doubt that this must be the result before a tribunal severely just, without the necessity of appealing to other means of obtaining ample satisfaction, and which every man of honour must abide by.

Captain Hamilton, under any circumstances, appears to be blameable for levity and impremeditation, since such offensive words as have issued from his lips, although not invented by him, should not have been uttered, or at least given to the public without his having at hand some proofs, and the means of defending himself. This fault might have been somewhat lessened had he at least accompanied it with the expressions of civility usual on such occasions, if not for the sake of courtesy at least for that of morality; as, for example, he might have said that "although such injurious accusations had reached his ears, nevertheless, he could not dare believe them," &c. &c. By the omission of such safeguards he has adopted as his own

espuesto al público sin reparo alguno, ó al menos no ignorando que aquella opinion habia de ejercer su influencia sobre el pueblo inglés—segunda falta: ha dirigido precipitada é irreflexivamente á las autoridades de Cuba el golpe mas cruel á su honor—tercera falta: y lo ha hecho de un modo que no pocos lo calificaran de falta de generosidad, ya que por hallarse á 1700 leguas de distancia no podian defenderse con la prontitud y bizarria con que lo habrian hecho, á no dudarlo, si hubieran estado aquende de los mares—lo cual da las últimas tintas al cuadro de faltas en que ha incurrido.

Si el Capitan Hamilton para formar su opinion hubiera consultado en la Habana á las personas de juicio y honradez, y aun al mismo Mr. Crawford, cónsul de S. M. B., que desde muchos afios ejerce estas funciones, le habrian dicho seguramente, que era una vulgaridad, ó mas bien una maldad de los enemigos de las autoridades españolas la inculpacion de corrupcion y venalidad, pues que dicho Sr. Crawford está bien convencido, y así lo ha confesado en mi presencia, y no puede menos de ratificarlo, de que es injusto arrojar tales manchas sobre aquellos distinguidos funcionarios.

Si el Capitan Hamilton hubiera estado mejor aconsejado, no habria cometido tamaña torpeza que no puede menos de envolverlo en serios compromisos, de los cuales no sé como pueda desembarazarse, porque no le ha de ser posible probar un hecho completamente falso, un hecho desmentido por todo hombre imparcial, pues que tan solo algun enemigo encarnizado y brutal del nombre español puede inventar cargos tan absurdos, y digo brutal, porque aun los que estan mas empeñados en desacreditar á los referidos funcionarios se valen astutamente de otros medios que mejor puedan prestarse á la creencia vulgar.

Con respecto al General de Marina el Capitan Hamilton es el primero que se ha atrevido á decir que haya podido mezclarse en esta clase de impuros manejos, porque si bien se ha cebado frecuentemente la maledicencia contra los Capitanes Generales, jamas se habia oido mencionar el nombre del General de Marina,

the opinion of the calumniators, which forms his first fault ; he has given it to the public, knowing well that that opinion must have its influence upon the English people, which constitutes fault second : he has aimed precipitately and without reflection the most cruel blow at the honor of the authorities of Cuba, which makes fault the third : and he has done it in such way that many will qualify it as a want of generosity, for from their being apart 1700 leagues, they could not defend themselves with the same promptitude and determination that they would have done had they been on this side of the Atlantic ; and which gives the final colouring to the portraiture of the faults he has committed on this occasion.

If Captain Hamilton, in order to form an opinion, had consulted in Havana with persons of judgment and impartiality, or even with Mr. Crawford, H. B. M. Consul for many years past, they would assuredly have told him that it was a vulgar report, or rather a malicious idea on the part of the enemies of the Spanish authorities, to set up an accusation of corruption and venality, since Mr. Crawford has expressed in my presence his thorough conviction of the injustice of such stains being cast upon those distinguished officers, which statements he cannot but confirm.

If Captain Hamilton had been better advised he would not have committed such gross errors, which cannot but involve him in compromises, from which I do not know how he will extricate himself, because it is impossible for him to prove a statement so entirely false ; a statement disavowed by every impartial man : charges so absurd that they could only be invented by some violent and ferocious enemy of the Spanish nation ; I say ferocious, because even those most bent upon blemishing the officers in question, cunningly make use of other means better suited to vulgar credulity.

With regard to the Admiral of the Navy, Captain Hamilton is the first man who has dared to state that he has been mixed up in those kind of impure transactions ; for although malice has often been vented upon the Captains-General, the name of the Admiral has never been brought into question ; since his naval

como que circunscrito á sus funciones marítimas, nada tiene que ver con el mando terrestre, ni con la policía que es á la que incumbe vigilar por las personas que entran y salen de la isla.

Es otra vulgaridad afirmar que todo empleado que se opone á la entrada de negros es separado al momento de su destino. ¿Donde estan esos hombres destituidos por tal causa? Preséntese uno solo. Muy al contrario; cuando yo salí de la Habana, que fué en el mes pasado de Agosto, habia algunos suspensos y encausados por sospechas de descuido en impedir la importacion de los citados esclavos. Este es un hecho, de cuya autenticidad respondo.

Aducidos ya los argumentos afirmativos, pasaré á los negativos. Si las autoridades de Cuba fueran tan censurables como las pinta el Capitan Hamilton en su declaracion ¿se habrian considerado, como ya se ha dicho antes, y señaladamente el General Cañedo el odio de todos los que se ejercitan en el referido contrabando, ó que tienen un interés en que no sea perseguido? Y quien ignora que de la Habana han salido infinitas cartas, representaciones y aun comisiones personales pidiendo el relevo de dicho General, porque suponen que va á arruinar la isla con el sistema de rigor que tiene inaugurado? ¿Y quien ignora la impopularidad que se ha creado, es decir en cierto círculo, por las pesquisas dentro de las fincas, y por haber encausado y puesto en la cárcel personas de la mas elevada aristocracia mercantil? Y quien obra de este modo, quien se ha atrevido á dar esta clase de golpes, no conocidos en la isla de Cuba, quien no consultando mas que su honor y su deber, no temiendo los tiros que habian de asestarle poderosos enemigos, importándole muy poco que lograsen prevalecer con amañadas sugerencias en sus designios de derribarlo de su alto puesto, se conserva firme en la linea de justa y severa conducta que se ha trazado sin que pueda separarlo de ella clase alguna de influencia: un funcionario tan digno ¿era por ventura acreedor á que el Capitan Hamilton le fulminase en su declaracion ante el comité de la Cámara de los Comunes un anátema tan furioso, y que vaciase

duties are so circumscribed that he can have nothing to do with land concerns, nor with the officers whose duty it is to watch all persons entering or leaving the island.

It is another vulgar error, to assert that all officers, who are opposed to the importation of slaves, are at once deprived of their situations. Where are the men rendered destitute in consequence? Let him bring forward one only. The reverse is the case. When I left Havana, which was in the month of August last, there were some of them suspended and under prosecution for being suspected of carelessness in the prevention of the importation of slaves. This is a fact, for the authenticity of which I can vouch.

Having already adduced all the affirmative arguments I will pass on to the negative ones. If the authorities of Cuba were so blameable, as Captain Hamilton depicts them in his declaration, would General Cañedo have aroused, as we have already and distinctly said he has done, the hatred of all parties engaged in such smuggling, or who have any interest in its continuation? And who is not aware that various representations and even personal commissions have been sent from Havana aiming at the removal of the said General, on account of the apprehension entertained that he would ruin the island by the rigorous system he had established? Who is ignorant of the unpopularity that he has created for himself in certain circles, on account of his inquisitive visits to the plantations, and committing to prison persons of the highest commercial standing? Does a man, who has acted in this manner—who has dared to enforce measures hitherto unknown in the island of Cuba—who has consulted his duty no less than his honor, fearless of the blows that would be aimed at him by powerful enemies, and utterly regardless as to the success of their intriguing suggestions for the purpose of hurling him from his high position—who has advanced firmly in the strict but just line of conduct that he has laid down, allowing no influence of any kind to turn him from it—and who is withal so worthy an officer—does he deserve the furious anathema pronounced against him by Captain Hamilton in his aforesaid declaration before the Committee of the House of Commons, or

sobre él toda la ponzoña de los resentimientos de sus contrarios, 6 de sus erroneos informes?

El Capitan Hamilton á fuer de caballero no podrá menos de sentir amargamente el daño que con tanta lijerezá é impremeditacion ha inferido; y no dudo que con los mejores informes que ha debido adquirir se apresurará á vindicar publicamente el honor de las personas injuriadas. Solo así podrá salvarse de sus graves compromisos, porque me inclino á creer que la accion del General Cañedo no cesará hasta que no haya obtenido una completa reparacion.

Al quinto cargo del Capitan Hamilton, cuya censura ofrece á primera vista algun fundamento contra el referido General por el hecho de que en los seis primeros meses de este año hayan sido introducidos por aquellas costas hasta el número de 9,040 esclavos, lo cual no habria podido verificarse sin su connivencia, 6 por lo menos sin su culpable apatía—contestaré, aunque sea incurriendo en pesadas repeticiones, que sin embargo de que en el artículo en cuestión se dan los nombres de los buques negreros, se fija el número de los individuos que cada uno de ellos ha importado, y se marcan circunstancialmente las épocas de sus desembarcos, no puedo menos de poner en duda este aserto, aunque por falta de datos á la mano no pueda rebatirlo con tanta seguridad como los demás, excepto en la parte relativa á la expedicion del buque *Lady Suffolk*, el cual me consta que desembarcó en Mayo en la *Ensenada de Cochinos* 660 esclavos y no 1,160, es decir 500 menos de los que hace figurar en su cuenta.

A la publicidad de este hecho dió lugar la persecucion intentada por el General Cañedo contra el rico capitalista y hacendado D. Julian Zulueta, y su confinacion en una de las principales fortalezas de la ciudad de la Habana.

Es de presumir que iguales exageraciones haya habido con respecto á las demás expediciones especificadas en la acusacion, y que probablemente se reducirán á la mitad los 9,000 esclavos tan cacareados; pero aunque así no fuera, y aun admitiendo la totalidad sin rebaja, y podrá parecer excesivo este número

that he should pour upon his head all the venom of the resentment of his adversaries or of his erroneous informations?

Captain Hamilton, as a man of honour, cannot do less than bitterly deplore the mischief which with so much levity and thoughtlessness he has inflicted, and I doubt not with the more accurate particulars that he must have acquired he will hasten to publicly vindicate the honour of the injured parties. By such a course alone can he extricate himself from his severe compromise, for I am inclined to believe that General Cañedo's exertions will not cease until he has obtained the most complete redress.

To the fifth charge made by Captain Hamilton—whose censure of the General appears at first to have some foundation, from the fact that in the six months elapsed since the beginning of the present year as many as 9040 slaves have been landed upon those coasts, which could not have been effected without his connivance, or at least without culpable apathy on his part—I shall reply, even though I may indulge in tiresome repetitions, by stating that notwithstanding the names of the slavers are given in the article in question together with the number of individuals brought by each, and the exact time of their landing, I cannot do less than express my doubts in regard to this assertion, although for want of data not now at hand I am unable to refute it with so much certainty as I can do the rest, except as regards the expedition of the ship *Lady Suffolk* which I know landed at the *Ensenada de Cochinos* only 660 slaves instead of 1160, or say just 500 less than are put down in his account.

The publicity of this fact gave rise to the prosecution commenced by General Cañedo against the rich capitalist and land-owner Don Julian Zulueta, and his ensuing confinement in one of the principal fortresses of the City of Havana.

It is to be presumed that similar exaggerations are to be found in regard to the other expeditions specified in the accusation, and which would probably reduce to one half the 9000 slaves so much enhanced; but even if it were otherwise, and admitting the whole without any deduction, can this number be considered

cuando en el Brasil, segun los estados que dieron al público el *Times* y el *Morning Chronicle* en el mes anterior, se introdujeron (en 1847) 56,172 esclavos; 60,000 en 1848; y 54,000 en 1849?

Graduándose en 700 leguas la estension de las costas de la isla, de las cuales escasamente habrá una décima parte con alguna poblacion, y siendo lo restante un horrible desierto lleno de innumerables cayos, escollos y bajos fondos, segun se ha dicho en otro lugar ¿como se ha de poder evitar que se dirija impunemente un buque contrabandista á cualquiera de estos puntos? Si la Inglaterra tan poblada por todas partes y tan bien provista de buques del resguardo, y de una policia sumamente activa y vigilante no puede atajar el contrabando que se hace hasta de géneros voluminosos, como lo son los vinos y licores ¿como lo ha de estirpar la España en una isla como la de Cuba?

Apelo al buen sentido de la nacion inglesa, á su rectitud, y á su justificacion: apelo á la imparcialidad de los mismos directores de la prensa que tan lijeramente han amontonado cargos los mas injuriosos sobre las autoridades españolas, para que fijando fria y desapasionadamente su atencion en estas observaciones, rectifiquen su juicio, y dejen de lanzar crueles anátemas, y de formular injustas recriminaciones contra personas que deben ser respetadas por su mérito y por sus virtudes.

Repite finalmente lo que ya he dicho mas de una vez, “que es imposible acabar con el contrabando de esclavos en la isla de Cuba mientras que deje ganancias tan escesivas; y digo imposible en los términos racionales, porque no se ha de exigir que un ejército como el de Jerges forme un cordon espeso que cubra herméticamente las 700 leguas de costas.

Estas mismas razones serviran para probar lo erroneo de la afirmacion del Capitan Hamilton sobre que la escuadra española puede si quiere impedir los desembarcos. ¿Pudieron todas las fuerzas marítimas empleadas en la vigilancia de las costas en los años 1850 y 1851 impedir la entrada de las dos expediciones

excessive, when in Brazil, according to the statements given to the public in the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* of the past month, 56,172 slaves were imported in 1847, 60,000 in 1848, and 54,000 in 1849?

Calculating the extent of coast of the island of Cuba at 700 leagues, of which scarcely one-tenth is inhabited, the rest being a frightful desert full of innumerable shoals and rocks as previously stated, how is it possible to prevent smugglers from landing with impunity upon any of those points they may think proper? If England, which is so populated in every part, and also provided with coast guard service and an excessively active and vigilant police, cannot restrain the smuggling carried on even in bulky goods, such as wine and liquors, how is it possible for Spain to do so in an island like Cuba?

I appeal to the good sense, rectitude, and upright principles of the English nation; I appeal to the impartiality of the editors of the press, who have so hastily heaped the most injurious accusations upon the Spanish authorities, to fix their attention coolly and dispassionately on these observations, and in view thereof amend their judgment and abstain from uttering such harsh anathemas, and setting up such unjust recriminations against persons who deserve to be respected for their personal merits and virtues.

I repeat, finally, what I have already said more than once, viz., that it is impossible to suppress the slave trade in the island of Cuba whilst it leaves such an excessive profit as it now does; and in saying impossible, I of course speak in reasonable terms, as it can hardly be required that an army as numerous as that of Xerxes should be sent to form a thick cordon covering hermetically the 700 leagues of coast.

The same reasons may be brought to prove the erroneousness of Captain Hamilton's affirmations, that the Spanish squadron could, if it liked, prevent such importations. Could all the maritime forces employed in 1850 and 1851 prevent the landing of two buccaneering expeditions? Then if these inimical vessels

filibusteras? Pues si estos buques enemigos lograron burlar todos los esfuerzos de nuestra marina, ¿ como no los han de burlar barcos muy veleros que se presentan de repente y sin que se tenga aviso alguno de ellos, y resueltos á barar donde mas les convenga contando con las simpatias del pais? Ha de ser una pura casualidad tropezar con ellos; no es por lo tanto extraño que la marina inglesa á pesar de su infatigable celo haya hecho tan pocas presas comparativamente.

Queda pues consignado con una certeza que casi se puede decir matemática, que el contrabando de que se trata se haría seguramente en escala menor si se aplicasen medidas extraordinarias, llevando su persecución mas alla de lo que prescriben los tratados; pero que nunca se logrará extinguirlo á menos que no se adopte el plan de la colonización africana que he tenido el honor de proponer en la primera parte de esta Memoria, sobre el cual me atrevo á llamar muy urgentemente la atención de los Gobiernos español é inglés.

Creo haber demostrado suficientemente cuan injustos é infundados han sido los cargos que la prensa inglesa ha dirigido al Gobierno español en la cuestión de la trata de esclavos, no siendo el menor de ellos el afirmar que el General Concha hubiera sido relevado del mando de la isla de Cuba por haber mostrado demasiado celo por la abolición de dicho tráfico. Sin entrar en comparaciones, que siempre son odiosas, y sin negar al referido General las virtudes que el *Times* le concede con sobrada razón, por las que se ha hecho tan recomendable, especialmente por su desinterés, por su honradez, por su caballería y por su ardiente patriotismo, puedo asegurar que en su remoción no tuvo parte alguna absolutamente la cuestión de la trata; que aun á los que se dieron por más ofendidos de aquella medida jamás les ha ocurrido echar mano de este recurso para censurar al Gobierno. Otras fueron las causas que se alegaron, que no las ignora el mismo General, ni las ignoran sus amigos; pero como no es éste el lugar de deslindarlas, ni de entrar en el análisis de su justicia ó injusticia, ni de su mayor ó menor oportunidad, me limitaré á manifestar que dichas causas, enteramente ajenas á la cuestión de esclavitud, como ya he

succeeded in baffling all the efforts of our navy, will not the same be effected by very swift vessels, which appear all of a sudden and quite unexpectedly, and whose owners are determined to run on shore whenever it may best suit them, confiding in the best sympathies of the country? Any rencontre with them must purely be by chance, and hence it is not surprising that the English navy, despite their unwearying zeal, should have made so few prizes comparatively.

It is therefore settled almost with mathematical certainty that the smuggling in question would assuredly be conducted upon a lesser scale, if extraordinary measures were resorted to, carrying their persecution beyond the limits expressed in the treaties, but that it could never be utterly suppressed save upon the adoption of the plan of colonization which I have had the honor of proposing in the first part of this Memoir, and to which I make bold to urgently implore the attention of the English and Spanish Governments.

I think I have sufficiently proved how unjust and unfounded have been the accusations brought by the English press against the Spanish Government in reference to the slave trade; not the least of them being the assertion that General Concha had been removed from the command of the island of Cuba for having shown too much zeal in the abolition of that traffic. Without entering into comparisons, which are at all times odious, and without denying the General those virtues, which the *Times* most justly attributes to him, and through which he has made himself so recommended, more especially by his disinterestedness, honesty, gentlemanly demeanour, and ardent patriotism, I can assert that the question of the slave trade had not the slightest connection with his removal, and that even those most offended by that step never thought of laying hold of such a reason to censure Government. The causes alleged were quite different, as the General and all his friends well know; but as this is not the place to discuss them, nor to enter into the analysis of their justice or injustice, of their major or minor opportuneness, I shall confine myself to stating that the causes in question which were entirely foreign to the subject of slavery, as I have already

indicado anteriormente, no afectan de modo alguno al honor de aquel General, y que el desaire sufrido, del cual no pudo menos de resentirse su delicadeza, no ha rebajado en el menor grado su distinguido mérito, como no puede rebajarlo el uso libre que hace un Gobierno de sus facultades para remover á sus empleados segun lo tenga por conveniente.

Si logro por lo tanto llevar mis convicciones al ánimo de los Sres. Directores de dicha prensa, me atrevo á esperar de su rectitud é imparcialidad, si no una retractacion pública de sus errores que pudiera abochornarlos, por lo menos la observancia de una línea diferente de conducta en el modo de apreciar los hechos en lo sucesivo, mayores miramientos para enunciarlos, y dobles precauciones para no ser, aunque sin intencion maliciosa, instrumentos de pasiones mezquinas, ó de resentimientos de partidos, ó de simulados planes hostiles. Así es como podrá sostenerse en la altura á que ha sabido elevarse con la madurez de su juicio, y con las brillantes dotes que la adornan.

Y como desde el tiempo de mi emigracion en esta tierra hospitalaria he sido un partidario decidido del *Times*, me duele sobremanera que tal vez, imbuido por algunos enemigos de la España, haya adoptado desde algun tiempo á esta parte un estilo acre é incisivo, no desaprovechando incidente alguno para zaherirnos, habiendo llevado su espíritu de oposicion hasta el punto de no haber querido dar cabida en las columnas de su periódico á mi contestacion del 7 del corriente que le envié en copia al mismo tiempo que al *Daily News*. Y como del Director de este último periódico ha merecido dicho artículo el honor de la publicacion, sin embargo de que podia darse por mas lastimado, me valgo de esta coyuntura para darle las gracias, ensalzando su cortesania é imparcialidad.

Y ya que tengo la pluma en la mano, y considerando que mi próxima salida de esta capital me ha de privar de los medios de rechazar nuevos ataques, aunque de todos modos son muy proporcionados mis recursos para sostener una polémica con

mentioned, do not in any way assail the honour of that functionary, and that the slight he has received, however it may wound his delicacy of feeling, has not in any way diminished the merit of this General, such merit being in nowise ever affected by the free use that the Government is always at liberty to make of its powers in the removal of any of its officers.

If, therefore, I succeed in carrying my convictions to the minds of the editors of the press, I think I may expect from their uprightness and partiality, if not a public recantation of their errors, which might hurt their feelings, at least the observance of a different line of conduct in the manner of appreciating future statements, greater regard in giving them publicity, and increased precaution, in order that they may not be, even innocently of malicious intentions, the instrument of mean passions, party resentment, or of hidden hostile designs. This will be the way to maintain the high position secured by the maturity of judgment, and brilliant qualities that adorn the members of the British press.

And as since the time of my emigration to this hospitable land I have been a decided partisan of the *Times* newspaper, I am the more grieved to see that, perhaps at the instigation of the enemies of Spain, it should have adopted now for some time past a bitter or cutting style, taking advantage of every incident to censure us, carrying its spirit of opposition even so far as to refuse space in its columns to my letter of the 7th inst. a copy of which I sent to that paper at the same time as the original to *The Daily News*. And as the editor of this last mentioned valuable journal has thought that article worthy of publication, although he might have considered himself the most offended party by it, I avail myself of this opportunity of returning him my thanks, and praising his courtesy and impartiality.

And now that I have the pen in my hand, and considering that my approaching departure from this capital must deprive me of the means of refuting any fresh attacks, although under any circumstances my resources are quite unequal to sustain

quien tiene á su disposicion un periódico de tan inmensa circulacion, lo cual me constituye en una posicion muy desventajosa, voy á dejar sin embargo consignada en esta Memoria, aunque sucintamente, la impugnacion á otra porcion de cargos lanzados por el mencionado *Times* en varios de sus números contra el Gobierno y contra la nacion española.

¿Y cual de los insultos le parece al *Times* que ha debido irritar mas á dicho Gobierno, y lastimar mas hondamente el orgullo nacional? El que se le haya denigrado con la nota de mala fé, de intolerante é ingrato. Si la primera calificacion la deduce de los apuros monetarios en que se ha visto aquel Gobierno, por lo cual no ha llenado sus compromisos con la exactitud que fuera de desear, cuyos apuros habrian sido menores, ó tal vez no habrian existido, si los mismos que ahora se presentan como sus implacables acusadores no hubieran conspirado desde una época bien lejana contra su riqueza y prosperidad, no se debe perder de vista que aun en el mismo acto de hacer las conversiones y el arreglo de su deuda, poniendo á disposicion de sus acreedores mas todavía de lo que podia dar, ofrecia una prueba evidente de buena fé, ya que el mas rígido moralista no puede exigir sino lo que está en la posibilidad. La buena fé española es proverbial, y las largas y destructoras revoluciones por las que ha atravesado este pueblo, no ha podido borrar un título tan glorioso y de que tanto se envanece.

La España pagará religiosamente todas sus deudas, y acallará los gritos de los descontentos, como las demas naciones no le promuevan mas disensiones interiores y conflictos esteriores. La España tiene en su suelo el gérmán de una riqueza siempre creciente, y en los pechos de sus habitantes la honradez que le es característica, y no defraudará jamas las esperanzas de los que le han dispensado su confianza, como se le dé tiempo para desarrollar su industria, y para reponerse de sus quebrantos.

La España no puede olvidar los buenos servicios que le prestó la Inglaterra en la Guerra de la Independencia, si bien no deben olvidarse tampoco los que prestó la misma España para despe-

a contest with those who have at their disposal a journal of such immense circulation, which places me in a very disadvantageous position, I am, nevertheless, resolved to insert in this Memoir, although briefly, the confutation of another series of charges published in the *Times* newspaper, in several of its numbers, against the Spanish nation and Government.

And which of those insults does the *Times* think must have most irritated the Spanish Government, and most wounded the national pride? That Spain should have been stained with the accusation of behaving with bad faith, intolerance, and ingratitude. If the first qualification is deduced from the monetary difficulties experienced by that Government, and which has prevented the fulfilment of its engagements with that exactitude which might have been desired—which emergencies would have been lessened or possibly quite avoided if the very parties who now rise up as its implacable accusers had not conspired for a long time past against its wealth—it should be borne in mind that in the very act of making the conversions and settlement of its debt, by placing at the disposal of its creditors, even more than it could give, it offered a clear proof of good faith; for the most strict moralist cannot exact what is beyond the bounds of possibility. The good faith of Spain is proverbial, and the prolonged and destructive revolutions which its people have suffered have not been able to erase so glorious a title, and one on which they so pride themselves.

Spain will religiously pay all its debts, and will silence the cries of the malcontents, provided other nations do not occasion it further civil dissensions and foreign disturbances. Spain has in its soil the germ of an ever-increasing wealth, and in the bosoms of its inhabitants a characteristic honour, and it will never disappoint the hopes of those who have accorded it their confidence, if time is granted for the development of its industry and the repair of its misfortunes.

Spain must ever remember the good services lent by England during the War of Independence. Nor on the other hand should those lent by Spain, to burst the bonds with which the Warrior

dazar las cadenas con las que el guerrero del siglo tenía ahorrajada la Europa. La causa, los sacrificios y los triunfos fueron comunes, luego comunes y unisonos deben ser los recuerdos de aquella época tan gloriosa como llena de penalidades.

La España sabe cuanto vale la amistad y la alianza con la Gran Bretaña, y deseará conservarla haciendo todos los sacrificios que sean compatibles con su honor y con su dignidad: sería por lo tanto poco generoso por parte de esta gran nación echarle en cara sus beneficios, ó tratar de esplotarlos para depimirla.

Decir que la España ha especulado sin pudor con el dinero inglés, porque habiendo recibido 400,000 libras esterlinas como indemnización de los perjuicios que debía sufrir con la prohibición de la trata de esclavos, lejos de cumplir con este nuevo compromiso, ha faltado á todas las condiciones del tratado, es arrojar sobre nuestra delicadeza y honradez una mancha que de ningún modo puede consentirse.

Aunque es cierta la primera parte de este cargo, debese tener presente que la citada cantidad, tantas veces sacada á relucir, y á la que se ha querido dar tanta importancia, subsanó en una parte, bien mínima por cierto, los grandes quebrantos sufridos por los armadores, por los dueños de factorías, y por otros muchos interesados en dicho tráfico, por manera que bien puede decirse que si la Inglaterra perdió por este lado 400,000 libras, ó sea dos millones de pesos, la España ha perdido veinte millones, ó acaso mas.

La segunda parte, es decir, la de que la España no ha cumplido con las condiciones del tratado, queda contestada en la presente Memoria.

Al cargo de que la España es intolerante ó ingrata, porque no dá á los Protestantes sepultura en el cementerio de los Católicos, citando algunos hechos repugnantes ocurridos tanto en Madrid como en la Habana, responden por mí los imparciales ingleses Mr. Eduardo Beaney y Mr. B., en las cartas que publicó el

of that age had shackled Europe, be forgotten. The cause, sacrifices and triumphs were in common; and therefore, in common and unison should be the recollections of those days, as glorious as full of contrarieties.

Spain knows the value of the friendship and alliance of Great Britain, and would wish to preserve it at any sacrifices compatible with its honour and dignity. It would therefore be scarcely generous on the part of that Government to throw in its teeth the services it has rendered, or attempt to take advantage of the same to depress it.

To say that Spain has speculated regardlessly with English money, because having received four hundred thousand pounds sterling as an indemnification for the prejudices that would result from the prohibition of the slave trade, and that far from fulfilling this new engagement it has disregarded all the conditions of the treaty, is to cast a blot upon our delicacy and honour to which we cannot, under any circumstances, submit.

Although the first part of this accusation is true, it should be remembered that the amount in question, so many times referred to, and to which so much importance has been sought to be attached, compensated most certainly in a very trifling degree for the great losses suffered by the shipowners, by the proprietors of factories and many other parties interested in the traffic in question, so that it may be truly said, that if England, on the one hand, lost four hundred thousand pounds, or say two millions of dollars, Spain has, on the other, lost twenty millions, or possibly more.

The second part, namely, with regard to Spain's nonfulfilment of the conditions of the treaty, is replied to in the present Memoir.

To the charge that Spain is intolerant and ungrateful, because she does not give burial to Protestants in Catholic cemeteries, bringing forward some repugnant facts which have occurred in Madrid as well as Havana, a reply is afforded by the impartial Englishmen, Mr. Beanes and Mr. B., in the letters published in

mismo *Times* en los días 7 y 15 del corriente, y que trascrivo en la nota adjunta.*

* **SR. EDITOR DEL TIMES.**—En su apreciable número de ayer hay un artículo con el título de “Los ingleses en Cuba.” El autor se dirige á los que han vivido algún tiempo en aquel país para que acrediten la exactitud de su aserto; agradeceré á vd. se sirva insertar lo que sigue:—

Yo salí de la Habana en el mes de Abril último, habiendo residido en Cuba cerca de catorce años, durante cuyo tiempo he tenido ocasión de presenciar muchos entierros de mis paisanos.

Es verdad que hay un sitio cerca de la Habana que se llama el cementerio de los ingleses, pero nunca he oido que se haya enterrado allí á nadie durante mi residencia en la isla, aunque no dudo que se construyó en un tiempo con tal objeto.

Hay dos cementerios en la Habana que son los del Cerro y San Lazaro en los cuales he visto con frecuencia enterrarse indistintamente españoles é ingleses. Yo jamás he oido que haya habido tropiezo alguno en estos funerales, que mas de una vez los he visto acompañados por treinta ó cuarenta ingleses.

Se tiene abierto un registro en la iglesia de ambos cementerios para todos los que son conducidos á aquella mansión; y se puede obtener la partida de defunción siempre que se pida, escribiendo al Consul inglés de aquella ciudad.

Yo no entiendo que clase de perros medio silvestres sean esos que E. B. menciona. Yo solo conozco de dos clases,—los montaraces que nunca se aproximan á los pueblos, y los mansos que tienen sus dueños respectivos, y que están demasiado gordos y bien tratados para que les ocurra tomarse la pena de ir al cementerio de los ingleses para arrancar una precaria dentellada.

Por otra parte cualquiera que conozca al Sr. Crawford, consul inglés en la Habana, le hará la justicia de creer que no permitiría que sus compatriotas se sepultaran en un sitio como el que describe E. B.

El punto cerca de Matanzas llamado playa de los judíos, he oido siempre que había tomado aquel nombre del pájaro “judio” cuya especie abunda extraordinariamente en aquella parte de la bahía.

Soy su mas atento servidor,

Londres, Setiembre 7, de 1853.

EDUARDO BEANES.

SR. EDITOR DEL TIMES.—Me ha llamado la atención el primer comunicado de E. B. en el periódico de vd.; y como considero que su publicación ha debido causar penosos recuerdos en muchas familias inglesas que han perdido sus parientes en Cuba, habría refutado sus peregrinos asertos si no se hubiera anticipado el Sr. Beanes.

Al ver que E. B. se ha presentado de nuevo á la palestra, me apresuro á agregar mi formal negativa sobre la pintura tan horrible que hizo en su

the *Times* on the 7th and 15th instant, and which I transcribe in the annexed note.*

* **TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.**—Sir: In your valuable paper of yesterday is an article headed “Englishmen in Cuba.” The author refers you to those who have lived a length of time in the country to prove the correctness of his statements. I should feel obliged by your insertion of the following:—

I left Havana last April, having resided in Cuba nearly fourteen years, and during that time have had the opportunity of witnessing many burials of my countrymen there.

It is true there is a place near Havana called El Cementerio de los Ingleses, but I never heard of an Englishman being buried there during my residence in the island; although I have no doubt it was formerly used for that purpose.

There are two burial grounds for the Havana, one in a place called El Cerro, the other in San Lazaro; in these cemeteries I have frequently seen both Englishmen and Spaniards buried. I have never known of a funeral being interfered with by any one, and often the funerals of Englishmen are accompanied by thirty or forty of their countrymen.

There is a registry kept in the church of the burials, both of Englishmen and Spaniards indiscriminately, certificates of which can be obtained at any time by writing to the British Consul at Havana.

I cannot conceive what kind of half wild dogs those were which “E. B.” mentions. I only know of two kinds,—the wild, which never come within miles of a town; and the tame, which have owners; the latter are generally too fat and lazy to take the trouble of going so far as El Cementerio de los Ingleses for a precarious mouthful.

Any one who knows Mr. Crawford, the British Consul at Havana, must be well aware that he would never submit to Englishmen being buried in such a place as that described by “E. B.”

The place near Matanzas called Playa de los Judios, I always understood derived its name from a bird called “Judio” (Jew), which abounds in great numbers on that part of the bay.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,
London, Sept. 7, 1853. EDWARD BEANES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.—Sir: My attention has been called to the first communication of “E. B.” in your paper, and as I considered that its publication must cause painful feelings in many English families that have lost relatives in Cuba, I should have contradicted the very extraordinary assertions it contains had I not been anticipated by Mr. Beanes.

Seeing that “E. B.” has again appeared in public, I wish to add my positive denial of the truth of the revolting picture contained in his first letter.

La lectura de dichas cartas acabará de convencer á los señores periodistas y al público de la desconfianza con que deben recibirse las noticias que se dan las mas de las veces con el depravado objeto de manchar la reputacion de personas, ó de arrojar el descrédito sobre naciones amigas, y sobre pueblos honrados. Todos saben que la iglesia católica no da por punto general entrada en sus cementerios á los que se han separado de ella; pero permite que se fabriquen otros para los Protestantes, como en efecto los he visto muy hermosos en varias partes, y aun en la misma Italia, que es el centro de dicha religion católica.

Como no es este el lugar de entrar en una discusion teológica, me limitaré á manifestar que todas las religiones deben ser respetadas, cualesquiera que sean sus prácticas y sus creencias: este es el espíritu del siglo, muy en armonía con la paz y con la mansedumbre que tanto nos ha recomendado nuestro Redentor.

Sabiendo pues los Protestantes que en los paises Católicos no se admiten sus cadáveres en los cementerios del Estado, á menos que no renuncien á las prácticas y ceremonias de su religion,

primera carta. Durante mi residencia de doce años en Matanzas apuesto á que ningun extranjero, cualquiera que fuera su rango, su patria, ó religion, ha dejado de enterrarse en el Campo Santo, y segun tengo entendido, nunca se preguntan las creencias del individuo.

Empero si los amigos quieren hacer algunas ceremonias religiosas, tienen que sujetarse al rito católico, porque la iglesia dá por supuesto que todos los que muéren allí son Católicos. Y repito que jamas se ha ofrecido impedimento alguno para enterrar á todo inglés que haya muerto; ni se puede citar un solo caso en que los funerales, exceptuando las ceremonias religiosas, no se hayan hecho con todo el decoro que se usa en el país.

La playa de los Judíos es una bahía de cerca de milla y media de estension, en la cual se han ido construyendo algunas casas, y sería muy difícil averiguar el origen de aquel nombre, pero ciertamente lo tenia ya mucho tiempo antes que se destinara para sepultar en ella á los negros bozales que morían en los barracones; y creo que tambien se usó en cierta época en que por la gran mortandad que produjo la fiebre amarilla, fué preciso enterrar en ella los individuos pertenecientes á las tripulaciones de los buques surtos en aquel puerto.

Manchester, Setiembre 15, de 1853.

B.

The perusal of these letters will finally convince the gentlemen of the press and the English public of the distrust with which they should receive such informations as they are more often given with the wicked object of staining the reputation of parties, or of casting discredit upon friendly nations and honorable people. Everybody knows that the Catholic church does not, as a general practice, receive into its cemeteries those who are alienated from it; but it allows the building of others for Protestants, as I myself have seen most handsomely constructed in different places, and even in Italy itself, the centre of Catholic religion.

As this is not the place to enter into theological discussions, I shall confine myself to stating, that all religions should be respected, whatever may be their practice or their creed. This is the spirit of the age, fully in accordance with the peace and mildness so much inculcated by our Redeemer.

The Protestants being then aware that their bodies are not received into the cemeteries of Catholic countries, unless they renounce the practices or usages and ceremonies of their religion,

During my residence of twelve years in Matanzas I am positive that no foreigner, whatever his rank, nation, or religion, has been interred except in the Campo Santo; and, to my knowledge, the question as to the religion is never asked.

Of course, if religious ceremonies are required by the friends, they must be performed by the Catholic Church, and I am willing to grant that the church may consider all who die there as Catholic; but I repeat that no impediment was ever raised to the interment of an Englishman, nor was there ever a case when the funeral (except the religious ceremonies) was not performed with all the decorum usual in this country.

The Playa de Judios is a beach of about a mile and a half in length, now being rapidly lined with houses. It would be difficult, perhaps, to trace the origin of the name, but certainly it was known as such long before a place for interment was made there. It has not been used for burials for many years, and the place can now hardly be traced. It was originally used for the interment of Bozal negroes who died in the baracones, and I believe was also used during a prevalence of yellow fever among the shipping for the burial of sailors.

Manchester, September 15, 1853.

B.

fácil les ha de ser, y poco costoso construir con tiempo en los puntos de mayor afluencia modestos cercados, aunque sea á las inmediaciones de aquellos.

A esto mismo se refiere la nota de nuestro Gobierno al Embajador inglés que se ha querido esplotar de un modo tan injurioso al Gobierno y al pueblo español. Nunca ha pretendido dicho Gobierno que se enterrasen los individuos de una religión diferente de la del Estado en lugares inmundos, como se ha querido dar á entender; nunca se ha opuesto á que dichos individuos comprasen un terreno y lo cercasen en forma de cementerio para depositar en él con la debida decencia los restos mortales de sus coreligionarios; pero no podrá menos de oponerse á la ostentación de dichos entierros y á toda otra ceremonia religiosa que no sea la católica. Aunque su ilustración lo inclinase á ser tolerante hasta en esta parte, tal vez se vería paralizada su acción por compromisos anteriores con la Santa Sede, que no es mi ánimo investigar, y mucho menos sacar á la pública discusión.

Estas breves observaciones podrán ser bastantes por ahora para suavizar la desagradable impresión que ha debido producir en el pueblo inglés la polémica suscitada recientemente con tan triste motivo, debiendo estar bien asegurado de que en cualquiera parte de los dominios españoles en que quiera construir un cercado en el que los cadáveres de los que no profesan la religión católica puedan estar al abrigo de toda profanación, les será otorgado siempre que renuncien á toda pompa pública, y á toda otra ceremonia que no sea de la religión del Estado.

La inexactitud, y aun la mala fe de los informantes, es demasiado insistente para no llamar la atención de los encargados de trasmisir al público las noticias. El redactor de un periódico no puede ignorar que marcar públicamente con el dedo de la infamia á una persona ó á un gobierno, como se le marca en realidad cuando se mancha su honra y su reputación, es peor que dar una puñalada á su cuerpo físico; y si para este segundo

it is easy for them, and at a small cost, to timely construct in the more frequented places plain enclosures, even in the vicinity thereof.

This is exactly what is referred to in the note from our Government to the English ambassador, which has been sought to be taken advantage of in a manner so injurious to the Spanish Government and people. This Government has never pretended that individuals of a different religion to that of the country should be buried in revolting places, as has been attempted to be represented. It has never objected to such individuals purchasing and enclosing pieces of ground in the form of cemeteries for the purpose of depositing therein, with all decency, the mortal remains of their brother religionists ; but it cannot do less than oppose ostentation in such funerals, as well as all other religious ceremonies different from that of the Catholic faith. Although the enlightenment of the Government might incline it to be tolerant even to this extent, possibly it might see such an action obstructed by previous engagements with the Holy See, which it is not my mind to investigate, much less to draw forth for public discussion.

These brief observations may be sufficient for the present to soften the disagreeable impressions which must have been produced upon the English people by the debates promoted lately with so mournful a cause, for they may be well assured that in any part of the Spanish dominions where they may wish to build an enclosure, in which the remains of those not professing the Catholic religion may be secured from all profanation, they will be allowed to do so, provided they renounce all pomp and ceremonies, except such as are in accordance with the religion of the State.

The incorrectness and even the bad faith of the informants is too continuous not to strike the attention of those entrusted with the transmission of news to the public. The editor of a journal must be aware that publicly pointing the finger of infamy at any person or government, as in fact occurs when their honour and reputation are stained, is worse than thrusting a dagger into their physical body ; and if for this second crime there be

crimen hay penas tan rigurosas, cuales son las que se impondrán al que cometa el primero?

Por lo menos ya que es interés de los periódicos publicar cuantas noticias les sean trasmítidas, dénlas enhorabuena, aunque sean de la clase que acabamos de indicar; pero con el correctivo ordinario de que "no se responde de su autenticidad"—de que "se desea que no sean ciertas"—de que "no se atreven á creerlas sin ulteriores datos," &c. Esta especie de freno á la maledicencia lo exigen la cortesía, los miramientos que debe tener el hombre en sociedad, y aun la moral y la justicia.

Y estas salvedades no debieran omitirse aun cuando los informantes fueran de las mas sólidas garantías, porque no están menos expuestos á ser inducidos en error, y á desfigurar los hechos por demasiada lijerezá ó credulidad, como ha ocurrido con el Capitan Hamilton en los informes ante el comité de la Cámara de los Comunes.

Escusado será detenerse mas tiempo en dar consejos á personas tan ilustradas como lo son los directores de la prensa inglesa, y en su lugar apelaré á la súplica para llamar mas fuertemente su atención sobre el aumento de precauciones para la inserción de artículos que tiendan directamente á injurias personales.

Igual súplica tengo que hacer al público sensato de Inglaterra para que mire siempre con desconfianza las acusaciones denigrantes, que aparezcan en los Diarios, ya como artículos editoriales, ya como comunicados, ó bien en forma de declaraciones, aunque sea por personas tan caracterizadas como el Capitan Hamilton.

Conociendo las virtudes del pueblo inglés, espero que no será desatendida mi apelación á su delicadeza y moralidad. Pésense con el mayor detenimiento en la balanza de la justicia los hechos, las circunstancias, y todas las consideraciones racionales y congruentes, antes de pronunciar un fallo de muerte civil contra personas tomadas aislada, ó colectivamente, cuya conducta, depurada en el tribunal de la razon, puede muy bien aparecer digna de elogios, y de ningun modo de censura.

Diré por conclusion que como el caballo de batalla, el origen

such rigorous punishments, what are those which should be imposed upon him who is guilty of the first?

Since it is to the interest of the newspapers to publish all the information transmitted to them, let them do so as far as they think proper, although they may be of a similar nature to those to which we have just referred, with the ordinary proviso, that "they do not answer for their authenticity;"—that "they hope that they may not be true;"—that "they scarcely dare believe them, without further particulars," &c. &c. This species of curb to evil tongues is required by courtesy, by the respect that man should have in society, and even by morality and justice.

And these safeguards should not be omitted even if the informants were the most powerful guarantees, because they are no less exposed to be led into error and misrepresentation of facts through excessive levity or credulity, as has been the case with Captain Hamilton in his statements before the Committee of the House of Commons.

It is needless to waste further time in giving counsel to such intelligent persons as the gentlemen connected with the British press, and I will instead earnestly solicit their attention to the additional precautions requisite in the insertion of articles tending directly to inflict personal injury.

I appeal likewise to the sensible English public to look with distrust on the blackening accusations which may appear in the newspapers, either as editorial articles, or even in the form of communications made by parties of the same standing as Captain Hamilton.

Knowing well the virtues of the English people, I hope they will not disregard my appeal to their delicacy and morality.

Let them weigh with the utmost deliberation in the scale of justice the facts, circumstances, and all the rational and proper considerations before pronouncing a sentence of civil death against persons individually or collectively, whose conduct, when investigated before the tribunal of reason, would most probably appear worthy of eulogium, but certainly not of censure.

I will say in conclusion that as the main object, the origin of

de todos los disgustos y la causa de que la prensa se destemple, tal vez por un efecto de místico celo, es la cuestión de la trata de esclavos, deben aplicarse todos los medios para que desaparezca de una vez para siempre la piedra del escándalo. Y como mis intimas convicciones, del mismo modo que las de cuantos examinen dicha cuestión por el lado que acabo de presentarla, no pueden menos de ser, las de que se lograría cumplidamente el objeto deseado adoptando el plan de la colonización africana para la isla de Cuba en el modo y bajo las garantías que también he indicado, me atrevo á esperar de la recta é imparcial prensa inglesa que me ayudará á allanar el camino y á remover los obstáculos que tal vez maliciosamente pudieran oponerse á la realización de un proyecto tan grandioso y de tan magníficos resultados bajo todos aspectos, y especialmente bajo el moral, político, y religioso.

MARIANO TORRENTE.

Londres, Setiembre 30, 1853.

NOTA.

DEBO hacer asimismo, por conclusión de esta Memoria, una protesta que podrá ser extensiva al Apéndice que se halla á continuación, á saber, que mis invectivas contra los abolicionistas, al rechazar tal vez con demasiada dureza sus doctrinas, deben entenderse tan solo con los ardientes y exagerados apóstoles de aquella asociación, los cuales dejándose arrebatar de su exaltado celo atropellan intereses mucho más sagrados que los que tratan de entronizar. Mi censura comprende exclusivamente á los que se exceden de los límites justos y racionales, y de ningún modo á los que dentro de ellos, y excitados por una bien entendida y saludable filantropía, desean introducir mejoras sociales, y llevar al mayor grado posible de perfección intelectual y moral la especie humana. El Gobierno y el pueblo inglés me tendrán siempre á su lado para defender estos principios, que no pueden menos de estar arraigados en el corazón de todo hombre que tenga sentimientos de honor y virtud.

all the annoyances and cause of the excitement of the British press, possibly through the effect of hidden zeal, is the question of the slave trade, every effort should be at once applied to the removal of this stumbling block; and as my own convictions as well as of all those who may examine this question, under the aspect in which I have just presented it, cannot be otherwise than that the desired object would be completely secured by the adoption of the plan of African colonization in the island of Cuba, in the manner and under the guarantees which I have suggested, I make bold to hope that the uprightness and impartiality of the British press will aid me in smoothing the road, and removing the obstacles which perhaps maliciously might be opposed to the realization of so grand a project, and offering such magnificent results in every way, more especially in a moral, religious, and political view.

MARIANO TORRENTE.

London, September 30, 1853.

I OUGHT, also, at the conclusion of this Memoir, make a protest, which may be extended to the Appendix following, to the effect, that my invectives against the abolitionists, in rejecting perhaps with too much asperity their doctrines, should be understood as applicable to the violent and exaggerated advocates of that association, who, allowing themselves to be carried away by their exalted zeal, trample upon interests much more sacred than those they are devoting themselves to uphold. My censures are exclusively confined to those who transgress the limits of justice and reason, and by no means apply to those persons who remain within them, and who, instigated by a well-understood and salutary philanthropy, desire to introduce social improvements, and raise the human species to the highest possible degree of intellectual and moral perfection. The Government and people of England may ever rely upon my humble assistance in the defence of these principles, which must be rooted in the heart of every man imbued with sentiments of honour and virtue.

ADICIÓN.

EN el momento de concluir la impresión de esta Memoria, ha llegado á mi noticia el Real decreto de 24 del corriente mes de Setiembre, por el que S. M. ha tenido á bien relevar del mando de la isla de Cuba al General D. Valentín Cañedo, y nombrar en su lugar al de la misma clase D. Juan de la Pezuela. De ningun modo me ha sorprendido esta resolucion soberana, porque la posicion del refetido General Cañedo era tan delieada y comprometida, segun he indicado anteriormente, que no parecia posible se conservara en ella mucho tiempo. Ha sucedido, pues, lo que debia esperarse, porque la fuerza de los sucesos y la complicacion de circunstancias llegan por ultimo á empujar y derribar aun á los hombres de mayor mérito y de mas acriollada opinion, sin que por estas variaciones, que entran de lleno en la prerrogativa real, quede lastimado el honor individual; y asi se desprende del mismo Real Decreto en el que se ha dignado S. M. manifestar que estaba altamente satisfecha de los buenos servicios que le habia prestado aquel funcionario, así como de su ascendido celo y lealtad.

La eleccion de su sucesor no ha podido ser mas acertada; y bajo esta creencia le deseo que disfrute por mas largo tiempo de aquel mando, y con menores amarguras, aunque no creo que se vea libre de ellas mientras que subsistan las mismas causas de choques y conflictos, y que indudablemente subsistirán á menos que se adopte el plan de la colonizacion africana en el modo y forma que he tenido el honor de proponer.

Ya los periodicos empiezan á ocuparse de nuevas expediciones que se proyectan en escala mayor, en combinacion con algunos empresarios de Nueva York para la importacion de esclavos en la isla de Cuba. Aunque no pude darse asenso literalmente á estas noticias alarmantes, porque han podido muy bien fraguarlas los tenaces enemigos de la Espana, sin embargo como que entran en la esfera de la posibilidad, se hace doblemente preciso entablar con urgencia la colonizacion africana, que es el único medio de contrarrestar tan atrevidos planes, y aun de invalidarlos completamente.

A D D E N D A.

AT the moment of concluding the printing of this Memoir, I have been informed of the Royal Decree of the 24th inst. (September), by which Her Majesty has thought proper to relieve General Don Valentin Cañedo from the command of the island of Cuba, and to appoint in his stead General Don Juan de la Pezuela. I am in nowise surprised at this Sovereign resolution, because the position of General Cañedo was so delicate, and one of so much embarrassment, as already stated, that it appeared impossible for him to continue long in it. Therefore what has happened is nothing more than was to be expected, because the force of events and the complication of circumstances finally assault and overthrow men of the greatest merit and most refined opinions, without these changes, which are so fully vested in the royal prerogative, injuring in any way their individual honour; and this is apparent even in this very Royal Decree, wherein Her Majesty has deigned to express her great satisfaction at the good services rendered by that officer, as well as of his superior zeal and loyalty.

The choice of his successor could not have been better, and in this belief I wish him a long enjoyment of that command and with less annoyances, although I do not think he will be exempt from them whilst the same causes of troubles exist as at present, which will undoubtedly continue to exist unless the plan of African colonization, in the manner and form which I have had the honor to propose, be adopted.

The newspapers already begin to busy themselves with new expeditions, proposed on a large scale in combination with some capitalists of New York, for the importation of slaves into the island of Cuba. Although credit must not be readily given to this alarming intelligence, which may very well have been forged by the tenacious enemies of Spain, nevertheless as it is quite within the bounds of possibility, it becomes doubly necessary to establish African colonization at once, as the only means of arresting and utterly confounding such daring plans.



APPENDIX.*

DURING the latter years of the past century a question arose, which at first appeared most simple and beneficial, and the favourable settlement of which seemed to be called for by humanity, reason, and justice. This question referred to the freedom of slaves. The celebrated William Pitt was the first who brought forward the subject in the House of Commons in 1788; and, after a lapse of twenty years, the Bill for the abolition of that traffic was passed by the House of Lords, the philanthropic Wilberforce being acknowledged as its author.

About this period, that is in the year 1807, the Anti-slavery Society of London was established, and gained some ground, although slowly, by the propagation of its doctrines. Spain was not the last country that acknowledged its inspirations. Sr. Alcocer and other members of the Cortes (or Parliament) of 1811, were already devoting their attention to this delicate question; but notwithstanding their patriotic zeal and upright intentions, the colonial system was in nowise altered, being defended with powerful and convincing arguments by the ayuntamiento (or the corporation) of Havana, and by the strenuous efforts of those who were thoroughly acquainted with the situation of the ultramarine possessions, and who predicted their total ruin the moment that measure should be carried into effect.

Some time then elapsed, during which the abovementioned society remained confined within its narrow limits, but without ever deviating from its settled course; and as firmness and constancy are powerful elements in the realization of even the most arduous undertakings, it succeeded, at the conclusion of the general war and the cessation of the grave cares which perplexed Europe, in making more progress in six months than it had made in the six first years of its establishment. The bursting of the bonds of the most uncivilized portion of mankind then seriously engaged their attention,

* Having published in Madrid, in 1841, a former Memoir upon this same question, I have thought it better to omit in the present, in order to avoid irksome repetitions, a number of reflections and arguments which would have thrown further light upon the subject; but I have deemed it advisable to publish a translation of the pamphlet in the form of an Appendix, for the better understanding of the case by those who are unable to read the original.

whilst at the same time the riveting of the chains, which sorrowfully bound the most enlightened nations, was coolly beheld. The groans of the victims sacrificed to civilized tyranny were forgotten, and the whole efforts of the philanthropists were directed to giving premature liberty to those who neither desired it, nor could benefit by it, and whose condition would be rendered considerably worse in consequence.

A mania, very similar to that of the Crusades of the Middle Ages, was seizing Europe in all directions, and wrested from the Spanish Government, in 1817, the abolition of the slave trade throughout its dominions.

Even the most holy institutions may be abused so far as to convert those very principles, which might canonize them, into the disgrace and ruin of nations. Such are the effects which have been produced by the exaggerated ideas of the modern philosophers! The blindness and violence of the Anti-slavery Society has arrived at such a vicious state, that it sacrifices to the idols of Africa the interests and future welfare of nations, and even the liberty and lives of a valuable portion of the white race, without considering that they represent an immense capital on account of their talent, morality, customs, and enlightenment, and by their knowledge of augmenting the general wealth, whilst the former occupy the lowest place in the standard of value.

Unmindful of the tragic scenes of blood and horror in which the island of Hayti was involved from the moment that the blacks were established in a state of liberty, the abolitionists attempted to hurl their exterminating thunderbolts to all those countries which were inhabited by the same race of people as the perpetrators of those awful atrocities. It is impossible to believe that this could have been their object; but the result could not be otherwise. There have been martyrs to all beliefs, and there have also been their executioners. History, if consulted, will show a frightful catalogue of victims sacrificed to fanaticism. The authors of St. Bartholomew believed that they were gaining a crown of glory by immolating thousands of victims at the shrine of religious fury. Poltrot, who assassinated the Duke of Guise; Clement, who stabbed Henry the Third; Ravaillac, whose regicidal hands deprived France of one of the best of its kings, Henry the Fourth; Damiens, who thrust a penknife into the side of Louis XV; and many other fanatics, who have attempted lives scarcely less precious, believed that they were acquiring the most solemn titles to posthumous fame. There is no man who does not think himself a hero in carrying out any scheme into which he has been led by his heated imagination, or by his civil or religious bigotry. The purpose may be at times very noble, very holy, and very pious. Eccentricity, generally so inseparable a quality of all violent reformers, does not allow them to pause before the most extravagant and more often criminal measures for the furtherance of their purpose.

There are objects, the aspect of which is so attractive that it is not astonishing to see persons engaged in them of the purest intentions and most exalted

virtue. And truly, who indeed is not moved at the sight of human misery, suffering, and degradation? How can any one, who prides himself on his sensibility, fail to become interested in those beings who appear to be repudiated by society, and who have been separated by some naturalists from the rest of the human family, as forming in their idea but a connecting link between man and the brute creation? Few surely are there, who do not reject so opprobrious a classification, and who would not be interested in making them participants in the benefits annexed to civilization. There will scarcely be found at the present time any one, however strongly opposed to the abolitionists, who does not nourish sentiments of real affection towards those beings who are withdrawn from a brutish and savage life. Even the class most clamoured against by the Anti-slavery Societies, namely, the slave owners themselves, are certainly lending greater services than those who call themselves their defenders, for whoever behaves with cruelty or inhumanity towards any of those individuals of whom such dismal dirges are sung, becomes an object of public execration.

If this important question had been discussed alone with the pacific arms of philanthropy, it would not so seriously engage the attention of Europe; but it has taken another aspect—the affair has soared to a higher region—it has become a political question, threatening to disturb the tranquillity of nations. After a rest of twenty-five years, which Europe has enjoyed since the conclusion of its wars, can there be a task more useful or more agreeable for the observant philosophers, for the true philanthropist, and for the honest writer, than to present opportunely truth in all its brilliancy, and illustrate with well-founded doctrines and energetic protestations those controversial points that might give rise to an alteration in that peace which confers upon the people so many blessings, and converts the olive leaves into laurels of war, accompanied, as usual, by desolation and destruction?

This, then, is the object of this Memoir—to defend property; conciliate international interests; improve mankind in all its phases; undeceive those who inadvertently, or through erring zeal, have allowed themselves to be borne away by untoward inspirations, and are dreaming in chimerical Utopias; to secure the utmost harmony among nations, who for mutual convenience should be friends; and avoid the transcendental consequences of a partial disagreement, which might very well produce a general conflagration.

Under three views shall I consider this question, viz. 1. The humane; 2. The economical; and 3. The political. I shall endeavour to unfold my ideas with the requisite mildness, and with the exalted regard due to those governments whom they may concern.

1. The humane view of the case.

I shall not dwell long on this subject in order that I may not be repeating the ideas which I have already expressed on more than one occasion when taking part in this question. Nor do I think it very necessary, because the exaggeration and incorrectness of the abolitionists when declaiming against

the slavery of the Antilles, is more than proved already. Those countries are open to the most rigorous examination, the most scrupulous inspection of all nations, and all who have visited them have been compelled to acknowledge that the working classes of civilized Europe are an infinitely more unfortunate race than the slaves of the Antilles. When in the old world thousands of individuals perish for want of the necessary sustenance, the necessary care when sick, the necessary lodging, fire, or clothing, through labouring above their strength, through quarrels and brawls, the result of disorderly life or drunkenness; when the prisons are crowded with malefactors, and the gallows continually in use; when, finally, the evils, which afflict the privileged beings who have had the fortune to be born in the bosom of the most radiant civilization, and under the protection of the wisest laws, of governments based upon the strictest morals and most beneficent principles, are so numerous—what is the aspect presented by the foreign colonies, especially the two Spanish possessions, Cuba and Porto Rico, which are the principal objects of my investigations?

In the said islands not a single creature perishes from hunger, nakedness, want of lodging, of medicine, or of the proper care when ill. Crimes are very scarce, and the executioner's hand finds but scanty employment: quarrels and fatal brawls are almost unknown; the passions of the mind have but few victims to deprive of the comforts of life, which the black slaves enjoy with more intensity than the white race, because ambition does not sting their souls; because jealousy is not a torment which sensibly alters their natural merriment; because vice has not become rooted in their hearts; because constant and moderate work distracts their mind from all evil thoughts; because the solicitude of their masters in providing them with a useful companion, who may console them in their troubles, softens the thorny path of their existence; because the care taken of their health preserves their robustness to a very advanced age; because the protection afforded them secures them from the persecutions of those who might otherwise take advantage of their weakness; because the order and system established amongst these beings, who are integrally a part of the property and fortune of their masters, preserve them from the vices and dangers by which the working classes of enlightened Europe are surrounded, and who in taverns and gaming-houses destroy their health and waste the bread of their wretched families; and because, finally, those slaves have natural guardians who, even if they be denied the ardent stimulant of humanity, at least for their own utility and convenience, are interested in the welfare of this part of the human species so greatly pitied by the exaggerated charity of the abolitionists.

I think I have sufficiently proved that the condition of the black slaves of the Antilles is much more favourable under any circumstances than that of the working classes of Europe. Let us now see if the total suppression of the traffic in slaves would in aught benefit their native countries. Have the abolitionists endeavoured to cast the light of the Gospel in those dark regions?

Have they carried their philanthropic views so far as to introduce civilization amongst those barbarian towns, and confer upon them the greatest of benefits, which would be to reclaim them from their wandering and savage life, unite them in societies, humanize their customs, inspire them with a taste for work, make them fathers of families, proscribe idolatry, and cause peace to replace the bloody wars in which those tribes are constantly engaged, and in which regardless of mercy they put to death all prisoners taken on either side? If the philanthropic measures adopted in Europe were accompanied by those which humanity imperiously demands for the improvement of the nature of these tribes in their very cradle, no one could dispute the eminent service that would be rendered to the human race, and voices would be insufficient to sing the praises of those who had contributed to the furtherance of so holy a work.

And this would not be the only stamp of glory that the abolitionists would acquire, as the civilization of those barbarous tribes would open in Africa a most brilliant market for British industry.

This great nation does not need my suggestions, indeed I know that the experiment has been already tried, and with the most satisfactory results. This degree of civilization, which I heartily desire for the African people, being once established, would render needless all severity for destroying the clandestine traffic which mercantile covetousness has carried on. In the meantime I will respect the treaties in force, as bound by my upright intentions I will inculcate their observance, because Government has made it our duty to do so; but nevertheless I must add, although with sorrow, that I do not see this important question in the flattering light that our philanthropists would wish to present it, not only because I know that the convenience and utility of the landowners of the island of Cuba has not been considered, but because I find the same omission in regard to the humane part of the question.

In corroboration of the correctness of my observations, and in proof that our slaves in the Antilles are more happy with their present than past lot, I should like every one of them to be asked whether he would rather return to his native country, and I think I may assert, without fear of being refuted, that saving a most rare exception here and there, not one would embrace the offer of exchanging civilized for that of the savage life.

The Countess of Merlin, in her Memorial published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," on the 1st of June, and with which I fully concur as regards its base and essence, although not in all its applications and facts, mentions two circumstances which I do not hesitate to copy, believing them to be true; more especially since the same have actually come before my own notice, and which are as follows:—

"Some years since two sons of an African chief were stolen by snare or violence, and carried to Cuba by a Portuguese slaver. Scarcely were they sold when an embassy of the Lucumies, covered with paint and feathers, reached the island to demand on behalf of their chief the two stolen princes.

The governor made no objections to their restitution, but they themselves refused to leave under any pretext a country where they said that they enjoyed a happiness to which in their own they had hitherto been strangers."

"I have seen in the gymnastic establishment at Cuba, a young negro, the son of a rich and dreaded chief, sold to European merchants by the foes of his father, and who, on learning the whereabouts of his son, sent frequent emissaries to persuade him to return to his home, but could not succeed in withdrawing him from the bosom of civilization; and he is now devoting his attention to training horses."

Can greater facts be required to prove that the negroes of the island of Cuba, even in their state of slavery, are most happy; and that the terrible colours in which the propagandists draw up their furious declamations against the slave trade, are but vain words, which, though sounding attractively upon the heart, do not enfold one single idea of positive utility? If African princes prefer slavery to the despotic command and unbridled sway of their own barbarous country, how can the more miserable classes of that wandering community fail to like it? And is not this the best argument as to the improvement in their condition?* Is not this a social and positive advantage?† And should not this single consideration suffice to calm the fury of those who are so resolved that the white inhabitants of the Antilles shall sacrifice their lives, property, and the future welfare of their families to an inconsiderate and fatal zeal?

So much has been said on this subject, that I should fear to weary my readers if I allowed further latitude to my reflections. I will therefore confine myself to the simple assertion of those facts to show that, considering this question abstractedly, humanizing purpose has not been the object sought. And I will conclude my observations by establishing the hypothesis of the emancipation of the slaves of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, these being the two Antilles against which the abolitionists have mainly directed their attacks.

Taking for example the former, which on account of its greater importance attracts a larger share of public attention, I think I have already briefly shown the state of peace, order, and fortune of those resident in that country in a state of slavery; but not so with regard to the free or emancipated negroes, whose number is far from inconsiderable: and the present

* In 1817 the free blacks were offered the means of transfer to their own country: not fifty accepted this offer, and even these soon returned to the Island of Cuba, blessing with increased enthusiasm the hand that had ransomed them from the misery and degradation of a savage life, and introduced them to an enjoyment of the sweets of civilization.

† The celebrated Mungo Park, who was one of the African Society's officers in London, says as follows:—"The exportation of African slaves to the Antilles should be considered rather as a boon to humanity than as a disgrace; first, because they are slaves in their own country; and secondly, because if the blacks had not the hope of selling their prisoners, they would tear them to pieces."

appears to me to be the proper time to speak of this subject. The number of free men is prodigiously augmenting from various causes—some acquire their freedom by the money earned during the time granted to them by their masters for their own profit; others, by a fortunate prize in the lottery; others, by faithful conduct towards their masters, who when dying, and even during their life-time, thus reward such good services. The major part of the black women, who bring up their master's children, are recompensed in this manner; others are emancipated for kind attention during illness, etc.; But would to God that the concession of this privilege was more rare! Experience has proved that the major part abuse this benefit, and many who know the inconveniences attending it, beg again to be made slaves as best ensuring their welfare, health, and assistance when ill or in old age.*

There are slaves also, who, notwithstanding their having more than ample capital for the purchase of their entire liberty, prefer a state of coartation, which the master can never refuse them on their offering at the least fifty dollars. The portion so deposited by the slave is deducted from his value; and his day's labour, which is the produce of that capital, is proportionately shortened. In such a case the slave cannot be compelled to work at the order of his master, but is only compelled to pay him the proportion of his earnings due after deducting the capital he has, (and which is in the ratio of sixpence per day for every hundred dollars of his value so repaid.) The "coartados" nevertheless continue under the authority of their masters, which is in accordance with their own desire, because they are convinced that they would not make good use of their complete liberty. This class of "emancipados" (or manumitted slaves) is composed of negroes taken from the ships declared as prizes by the "comision mista" established in Havana. Formerly they were preferentially divided amongst the most respectable and worthy families, or for services rendered to Government, under the obligation of giving them a moral and religious education, and teaching them some trade in order that they might be useful to society and themselves. Although the grant was only for five years, during which time they were to devote to their masters all the produce of their labour, they continued indefinitely in their possession, until General Tacon required that the agreement should be renewed with all those who had served their full term, and the payment of a

* Don Ramon Beltran, a rich landowner in Havana, had for many years a negro, whose extreme fidelity induced his master to give him his liberty, and in addition twelve doubloons that he might live free from care. But what was the result? The same as usual with all emancipated negroes. He became filled with vices, lost his health, and had to return, and upon his knees entreat his master to take him again into his service. Now this negro might have earned seventeen dollars and his board every month, for he was an excellent cook. And if this was the case with him, what would happen to those who, when freed, have no such resource to fly to? Why, they would become lost, because their idleness and negligfulness will not allow them to work for their bread when it depends upon their own free-will.

fee of nine doubloons for each male, and seven for each female, which funds were to be applied to works of public utility—all the newly emancipated negroes being included in this same order.

But it is now nearly three years since any emancipados have been allotted out, as they are all transferred to the English islands and put to work upon the plantations, which are half ruined through the indolence of the negroes in charge of their cultivation—an indolence produced by emancipation.

Can there, then, be any one who really believes in his heart that the precious elements of peace, order, and fortune enjoyed by the slaves resident in the island of Cuba would be improved by the lauded emancipation? Such a thing is impossible in any way. We have before us a very hard and permanent lesson. What is the aspect presented by Jamaica, and the twelve western islands dependent upon England in which, by the obstinate decision of the abolitionists, all the slaves have been emancipated? An indolent and vicious race, involved in misery and misfortune, and countries rendered barren by the devastating breath of the propagandists. Laying aside all reference to their territorial wealth, of which I shall speak in developing the economical view of the case, and confining myself alone to the humane part, the points of difference unfavourable to those inhabitants in comparison with those they presented before this great political measure was carried into effect, become at once apparent to the sight of even the most careless observer. Let us keep to the island of Jamaica, which excites more interest than any other, and the references we may make to it may be extended to the rest. Although in this island there are some four hundred thousand negroes, and as many more in the other twelve, such is their idleness, and such the vices arising therefrom, that the English themselves have had publicly and openly to charter vessels in the river Thames to convey from the coast of Africa as many as 40,000 negro "bozales," or savages, in order to prevent the total ruin of their estates. On the 14th of May of the present year two of these vessels arrived at Jamaica, about the same time another arrived at Trinidad, and a fourth at Demerara; and there is no doubt that ere this the rest will have also made their appearance, bringing altogether the 40,000 negroes agreed upon.

And does not this arrangement, which is indubitable, since its publicity has rendered it the property of the press, clearly prove the want of foresight, or at least the precipitation with which the English Government signed the emancipation of her colonies? But for fear of wounding the self-love of those who had the greatest share in the compliance with the pretensions of the humane propagandists, I would enter into other explanations which would still further prove that the interests of Great Britain were not well consulted in this transaction. And what are the legitimate inferences which flow from these facts? That amongst the negroes just emancipated, the vices of sloth, vagrancy, robbery, libertinism, and unbridled profligacy predominate, as the immediate consequences of idleness and aversion to work;—that the negroes of that colony have not made good use of their liberty;—that wherever the

same principles are applied, the same results must be experienced ;—that the negro slave, industrious, laborious, submissive, and obedient, becomes converted by the baptism of emancipation, into a slothful, vicious, thieving, rebellious, quarrelsome, and daring man, if indeed no worse sentiments enter his mind, such as revenge and the extermination of the white race, sentiments which are erased from the heart of the slave humanized by kind treatment and by the moral and religious education which his master, so interested in his preservation, takes good care to afford him.

And if the white inhabitants of Jamaica have not yet experienced the terrible effects of this, the most painful chapter of the negro's history ; if they have not seen re-enacted upon their hearths the tragic scenes of the neighbouring island of Hayti, it is due to the absolute compliance and descension of the whites themselves, to the continued emigration and abandonment of that volcianized country and the plantations therein, and to the great respect imposed by the formidable power of England. But, perhaps, the day is not far distant—although God grant that my predictions may prove false!—when the preponderating race of Africa may wish to see themselves free, not only from the guardianship, but even from the presence of all but those of the same origin as themselves.

Then if evils of such fearful transcendency are, with ample grounds, to be feared from the emancipation granted to the colonies of a maritime power, which could in a moment cover those seas with her ships, how much more reason for alarm must seize the subjects of a nation, which through a series of uninterrupted civil and foreign wars, is deficient of those elements of strength and power to stifle with the velocity of a thunderbolt a general rising two thousand leagues distant ! And what would the abolitionists say, if the first fruits of emancipation in the island of Cuba were to be the destruction of the country, the massacre of the whites, the commission of all kinds of atrocities, violence, and the enthronization of African barbarism ? Their tardy repentance and barren lamentations would certainly not heal the wounds that they had opened by their ill-understood zeal and delirium ; and it would even be necessary to shed more blood, and sacrifice a greater number of victims, to re-establish order amongst the freemen themselves, who had attempted such ferocious butchery. Let the visionary reformists ponder well these facts, and see if they feel themselves valiant enough to risk so serious and transcendental a responsibility. If they are actuated solely by humane principles, let them retrieve their errors, and not disturb the order of those countries ; let them throw civilization over the cradles of the African tribes, and not introduce terror and desolation into countries enjoying an enviable peace, which is the object of the anxiety of both blacks and whites, masters and servants, rich and poor. Any alteration sought to be made would be followed up by misery and death ; and the sad and certain conviction would be experienced, that the measures directed to carry out an apparent act of humanity, had been converted into halters of extermination

and into standards of inhumanity, to the great regret of its promoters. Persuaded as I am of this direful truth, I cannot do otherwise than raise my voice to the Governments of Spain and England, and to the entire world, in order to prevent their attempting innovations which would be productive of scenes that would horrify the very humanity which they invoke.

2. The economical view of the case.

The object of this Memoir being to respect the treaties in force in regard to the slave trade, and avoid the consummation of the project for the emancipation of the slaves existing in the Spanish islands, which appears to be the object of the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists, after having presented the picture of misery, death, and ruin, which those countries would offer under the hypothesis given, I will proceed to elucidate this question on the side of economy.

We do not alone speak of the compensative value of from six to seven hundred thousand negroes, estimated at an average of 400 dollars each; nor of the immense wealth represented by the estates and manufactures of Cuba and Porto Rico, for the indemnization of which it would be difficult to find sufficient funds; but we would also call the attention of the promoters of such absurd theories to the immense injuries that they would entail upon the Spanish landowners and the Government itself. It would see disappear, with a breath, a sum exceeding ninety millions of rials, which from the island of Cuba alone comes every year to replenish the exhausted exchequer of the Peninsula: it would also find gone a further sum of two hundred millions of rials, which Spanish commerce draws from the said island: it would see the corn fields of Castille paralyzed for want of this outlet, equal to an annual consumption of more than a hundred thousand barrels of flour: it would see our wines, brandies, and oils rotting in the cellars of the Andalusians and Catalonians: it would see the industry of the Galicians and Catalonians in the weaving of cotton and linen stuffs quite suspended: it would see the prized production of the fruits of the south of Spain going to decay: it would see also the branches of metal manufactures, especially such as hardware, nails, lead, tin, workmen's tools, etc. greatly enfeebled: it would also see wounded to death the merchant fleet, which consists every year from 950 to 1000 vessels engaged in commerce, and which number should progressively increase: it would see, finally, the destruction of the manufactories of paper, shoes, boots, hats, and a large portion of smaller articles with which we supply that great market.

And the great wealth that the laborious Spaniards acquire in that country by their active and persevering industry, who gradually return to fertilize their native soil! does not this deserve a distinguished place in this economical picture? It is not easy to conceive, and still less to explain, the immense and irreparable damage that would accrue to agriculture and to the industry and commerce of the Peninsula as well as to its Government, if the emancipation of the slaves of the island of Cuba were to be carried out; because the

emancipation and complete destruction of that island are synonymous in my own opinion, as well as in that of all persons who are acquainted with those countries which hitherto have been the seat of peace, contentment, and happiness.

Now is the very time of the greatest development of the island of Cuba. The exportation of sugar three years ago did not exceed seven hundred thousand boxes, and for the present year it is estimated at a million; and taking into account the stimulus that is being given to this rich produce by the establishment of new plantations, it will not be too sanguine to affirm that the island of Cuba will export within four or six years a million and a half of boxes, which, if estimated at the average of twenty dollars, will represent a cash value of thirty million dollars, or say six hundred millions of rials. Coffee is also wonderfully on the increase, and the tobacco still more so; and this latter must be the richest produce of all, on account of its unrivalled quality.

Hitherto this branch of industry has been confined to a few landowners but it has now advanced to a greater scale since the consumption thereof has increased so considerably in France, England, the United States, and the north of Europe, that the demands of these markets greatly exceed its ordinary produce. At the present time undertakings are being formed for cultivating by wholesale this precious plant, and by means of which she will be enabled to supply all the countries of large consumption; for the ground suited to this kind of culture is unlimited. The day will come, and is not far distant, when the exportation of this item will be more valuable than that of the sugar.

There are also products, such as cotton, cocoa, and wax, which, although they figure as trifling in the mercantile balance, can yet be well augmented; and it is to be hoped that they will be so, until they reach the point of importance of which they are susceptible.

The branch of mining is also being developed in the most prodigious manner. The exports of metals have figured in the balance of 1840 at more than sixty millions of rials; and as there are various companies at work, an immense amount of wealth will be created, which will considerably augment the importance of the said island, more especially as the efficacious protection of Government will most surely be extended to this industry.

The copper mines situated in the hills surrounding Santiago de Cuba, and in Villa Clara and Cienfuegos, are in the most prosperous condition, and are yielding the most favorable results; and the same is the case with some others now opening in Holguin. A mine of coal, which has been found eight miles from Havanna, and which will very shortly be crossed by a beautiful railroad, can supply fuel to all the railroads yet made, or that may be made in that island, and also to the line of English steamers which will commence at the beginning of the ensuing year of 1842, and which will maintain a perfect

communication twice a month between England and Spain, the ultra-marine countries, and the United States.

The total revenue of the island amounts, at present, to two hundred and forty millions of rials, with every appearance of an indefinite increase; the commercial business exceeds a thousand millions: and, in fine, all the germs of an almost incalculable wealth are developing themselves.

Some will believe that it is not politic to paint in such brilliant colours the opulence of the island of Cuba, but I am of a different opinion. He that possesses property, unfairly acquired, should lessen its importance, in order not to excite the covetousness of others; but the rights of Spain to those dominions being so just and so strong, she needs not conceal its value. Her affection should be greater towards this part of her dominions than towards the rest, who, for causes needless to enumerate in this Memoir, have severed their ties with the metropolis. A mother ever loves a son most who has cost her more trouble and greater sacrifices. It is not surprising, then, that the island of Cuba should be the idol of the mother country.

The island of Cuba has absorbed a great share of the treasures of Mexico, which instead of being devoted to the improvement of the parched soil of the metropolis, instead of being invested in the construction of roads, in the opening of canals, and other objects of useful reproduction, they were emptied into the Great Antille with the sole idea of preserving that key to the Mexican Gulf. There is a fortress in the construction of which one hundred and fifty millions of rials have been expended. The streets of Havana might be paved with Mexican silver. For the space of three hundred years this, her old colony, received from Spain twenty millions annually at the least, on account of the extraordinary fortifications, maritime works, and public establishments.

Are not the immense treasures spread upon this island, independently of the legitimacy of its conquest, the most solemn titles for Spain to enjoy its peaceful possession which secures a return proportionate to its enormous sacrifices? And would it not be the basest of acts to thrust the unfaithful dagger into the heart of this most precious jewel of the Spanish Crown? It is just, then, that Europe, and the entire world, should know what it cost the mother country, and what it is now worth in order to further enhance the greatness of the crime of those who attempt to destroy it. Although the abolitionists possess prodigious wealth, it would be insufficient to make good the damage done by their propagandism, if it ever were to be admitted into those fortunate countries. In such an event I should appeal to rectitude and justice, which are the basis of all Governments, and of all nations who boast of their morality and civilization, of all nations pledged or engaged in the defence of property, not to set up a fatal precedent which would be turned against themselves. I will, if necessary, invoke their support, and I do not think they will be deaf to such just appeals.

It being also my settled purpose to properly represent the importance of the island of Porto Rico, I will give an idea, albeit briefly, of what it has cost Spain and what it is now worth, in order that the friends of emancipation may extend their views over this new picture of injuries which it is impossible to compensate.

The exportation of sugar, from the island in question, will amount this year to full one hundred and twenty thousand hogsheads, of forty-eight arrobes, of twelve hundred weight each—equal to three hundred and sixty thousand boxes, averaging four hundred weight a piece ; the molasses may be estimated at five hundred thousand arrobes ; the quantity of rum will reach ten thousand hogsheads ; the rice eighty thousand quintals ; the maize sixty thousand bushels ; tobacco, principally exported to Holland, for dyeing, forty thousand quintals ; coffee one hundred and fifty thousand ; and cotton thirteen thousand arrobes. In addition to the above, some five millions of rials value are exported in plantains, “casabe,” potatoes, “gnames,” beans, and other vegetables, which furnish the markets of the adjacent islands ; besides fifteen thousand head of cattle which are exported every year.

In the mountain of Luquillo, the highest of the island, there is a mine of gold from which samples have been sent to the Government, showing by assay as much as two ounces of the precious metal for each hundred weight of ore ; this mine is awaiting the reviving assistance of men of enterprise, who should anticipate great profits from the capital they would invest therein, as the vein is very superficial and offers no difficulty in its working. All the gold that the jewellers of the island in question use is derived from the sand gathered from the water trickling down that mountain. There are also mines of coal, iron, and copper, which possibly may be again brought to light now that the spirit of association and enterprise is developing itself on all sides, by which impulse, and by the help of the powerful elements afforded by this island, it must in a few years be advanced to a degree of opulence superior to the most flattering estimates.

The total revenue, derived in 1840, amounted to thirty-two millions of rials, which may be estimated for the future at an increase of twenty per cent., taking the basis of the last ten years. The commercial transactions of the island reached nearly three hundred millions during the past year. The population is fully four hundred and fifty thousand souls, inclusive of sixty thousand slaves.

The pecuniary supplies, which Spain has contributed to this island from 1510 to 1810, amount to the enormous sum of twelve hundred millions ; and the remittances of specie for works connected with fortification and defence amount to another hundred millions of rials. Hence it is obvious that Spain has the same solemn rights to preserve, and draw revenue from this island, as we have shown that she has with regard to Cuba ; and would it not be atrocious to propose, and yet more so to adopt, any measure tending to deprive us of this important possession at the very moment that it is beginning

to compensate for the heavy sacrifices that the mother country has made for it, and when its inhabitants (whose principal glory is in proving their ardent attachment and never doubted fidelity) are so fully contented and place so much confidence in the paternal Government which guides them, and under whose shadow their prosperity and fortunes are so rapidly increasing ?

Having given a sketch of the financial position of the island of Porto Rico, whose rights to the protection and liveliest solicitude of the mother country are not less sacred than those of Cuba, I will resume the thread of my comparative reflections. Although with regret, I confirm the opinion I have before expressed, that the result of emancipation in the principal island of the Spanish Antilles, if carried out, must be more sanguinary than it was in Jamaica, for reasons which it would not be politic to state, and upon which prudence would recommend silence ; but even admitting the supposition that the Cubans were not to witness the horrible butchery so much to be dreaded from the moment that the barrier of the submission of the African race was overthrown, what would be the fate that would befall them ? Let us take for example the beforementioned island of Jamaica. In 1838, thirteen million pounds of coffee were obtained from this island. In 1839, which was the first year of its emancipation, eight millions only were procured. In 1840, five millions ; and in the present year, this produce will not reach three millions, according to the information I have been able to obtain. The falling off in sugar will be still greater, since in the latter year it has not amounted to one-sixth of what it yielded prior to the emancipation. The loss in rum has been still greater, because of from twenty-eight to thirty thousand hogsheads previously exported every year, scarcely three thousand have been shipped since the emancipation ; and similar losses have been experienced in the other islands to which emancipation has been extended. In this very year there were for sale in Jamaica, five estates, estimated to be worth one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars ; and although offered at one hundred and twenty-five thousand no buyer could be found even at that price. Many other estates have been sold even for less than a tenth of their value to the utmost satisfaction of the owners, who were resolved to get rid of them at any loss ; for besides being aware of the impossibility of obtaining a fair rent from their property, on account of the idleness and independence of the free negroes, they were actuated by a more powerful motive, namely, the terror felt by the colonists who were compelled to be at home at eight o'clock in the evening to avoid being assassinated, or at least robbed. And they were moreover inspired by the most powerful dread of all, which was that of a general massacre of the white race—a fear which cannot be looked upon as unfounded, since it might be effected whenever they might think proper to attempt it.

Having established then the favorable hypothesis, that the results of the

emancipation of the island of Cuba would be no worse than the destruction of its agriculture ; would not this be a general upset to European commerce ? Would not the want of sugar and tobacco from Havana be severely felt in the continental markets ? These copious supplies falling off, would not prices rise to an immense extent ? Could the sugars of the East Indies supply the deficiency ? Would not the United States, France, Germany, and even England, which have at the present time a rich market for the consumption of industrial produce, feel the effects of this impolitic measure ? It is needless to enumerate the inconveniences which would be produced by Cuban emancipation, not only in the Spanish, but in all the European markets.

In view of the eagerness with which the English are attempting to introduce their favourite plans into the island of Cuba, some parties have at once formed opinions injurious to their morality and rectitude, and although they may not be quite correct, there is nevertheless some foundation for believing that it has been decreed long since that the East Indies shall rise upon the ruins of the West. I do not believe that such is the object of the British Cabinet ; but the acts of the abolitionists compromise their good name on this point, as they will do on many others, if they do not curb their intemperate demands. One million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, or say one hundred and eighty millions of rials, already spent in the persecution of slaves, is no small consideration. And scarcely a less one are the forty millions of rials paid to Spain in virtue of the treaty of 1817 as a compensation for losses suffered, and likely to arise, from the abolition of the slave trade. Nor is the sacrifice of thirty-five millions of rials, already spent in the maintenance of tribunal judges and other officers on this business, an indifferent consideration ; but the greatest of its disbursements has been the twenty millions sterling, or say two thousand millions of rials, voted by Parliament and applied to the purpose of indemnifying the losses occasioned by the emancipation of the slaves of its colonies, although only at a compensation of one hundred dollars each ; and what is still more painful, the thousands of victims sacrificed to the insalubrity of those burning climates during the prolonged stay of its cruisers on the African coast.

3. The political view of the case.

The slave question, considered in a political aspect, may be productive of results the most serious. At the end of the past year there appeared at this court (Madrid) some fanatic quakers whose mission, reduced to advocating the emancipation of the slaves of our islands, excited a fierce discussion in the papers of the capital, and in which I also took an active part. The alarm occasioned in the island of Cuba was only quieted when the inhabitants became convinced that the Spanish Government could not do less than respect the laws of property which are the bases of all such well constituted nations. Their tranquillity was further secured by the consideration, that whatever might be the engagements between one government and another, our own

could not do less than listen to the strong solicitations addressed by the people of those distant shores, and even by other persons resident at the Court, who were well acquainted with its real interests, and who would become zealous sentinels to opportunely give warning of the covert blows that through mistaken zeal might be aimed at the welfare of the island.

However, astonishment, surprise, terror, distrust, and the utmost excitement took possession of the minds of the inhabitants when they became acquainted with the Royal Order, which had been forwarded to their most worthy General Valdes, to inform upon a despatch from the British Cabinet, demanding the emancipation of all the slaves introduced into the island of Cuba since the month of October, 1820; the office of carrying out this classification, as odious as repugnant, being confided to the "Comision Mista."

Although they could never have believed that it was the intention of our wise Government to comply with this impolitic and irrational demand, for it would be equal to decreeing the ruin of this, the greatest of the Antilles, they were, nevertheless, disturbed and agitated at contemplating that so direful and destructive a claim had been taken into consideration, as it may be well affirmed that the class marked out for emancipation embraces the major part of the African population.

On the other hand, how is it possible to make laws that shall have a retroactive effect? Would they not possess all the attributes of tyranny? Who could undertake to ascertain the filiation or physical distinction of every one of these slaves? And in order to carry out these investigations, must not the slaves be confronted with their masters? Where would such imprudence lead us? It is impossible to propose a more subversive measure, or one more likely to provoke disobedience and rebellion amongst those now pacific people. He who can estimate the consequences of it, is horrified at the idea alone.

Another motive for the just exasperation of the inhabitants, is in the continuance of a Consul who belongs to the most furious party of the abolitionists, amongst whom he has succeeded in acquiring a distinguished position by the exaggerated works he has published, and by the spirit of propagandism that actuates his conduct. From the moment of his appearance in the Port of Havana the malcontents (ever to be found even amongst the mildest and most paternal governments) conceived the wildest ideas as to the prevalence of his doctrines. His first acts were in accordance with his principles, slightly reserved so as not to call forth public attention, and excite very serious remonstrances; but owing to the ardent zeal of the superior authorities, and to their political wisdom, some change has been occasioned in the line of his conduct, although his presence is always an unfavourable omen, an inseparable obstacle to the tranquillity of the country, and a banner under the shadow of which those persons ill-disposed towards the system at present in force, hope to mature the plans of their chimerical triumph.

All governments have a right to receive or reject any diplomatic agent

whose ideas are in open opposition to those of the country where he is to fulfil the object of his mission, or when good grounds are found for believing that his presence may endanger public tranquillity. If, then, the respective governments can exercise this prerogative in regard to diplomatic agents, with how much more reason could they do so with a Consular agent who can in nowise boast of so high a character ?

Our Government, therefore, should not have the slightest scruple in demanding the removal of the Consul in question ; nor could the British Cabinet be offended at such a suitable and justifiable request ; on the contrary, it should take it as respectful, because the laws of the Indies allowing the Governors of our colonies to reject on their own responsibility any Consular agents, our authorities have no intention of availing themselves of such a right. Nor could this step, suggested by policy, and for the convenience of the nation, give cause for any alteration in the good harmony which I trust may ever subsist with our faithful ally Great Britain. How great would be my satisfaction, if these hints, which I have been induced to express out of love for the country so interested in them, as well as for the purpose of preventing any disagreeable events that might compromise the two Governments so closely united by sympathy and reciprocity of positive advantages, should be taken into consideration to the required end, for I may boldly assert that few measures that Government could adopt would be received with more gratitude or greater enthusiasm than the appointment of another individual to represent the Consular interests of England in the island of Cuba !

There is also another source of annoyance and alarm ; viz. the permanence of a seventy-four gun ship in the Bay of Havana since 1837, under the pretext of picking up the negroes proceeding from the prizes wrested from mercantile covetousness. This naval fortress, upon which a foreign flag is eternally seen floating, and from whence there occasionally come on shore negroes belonging to the crew, with corresponding arms and uniform, and the sight of whom arouses in our pacific slaves ideas far from submission and dependence—this fortress, which is considered by some as a sign of our weakness, and by others as a firm, and continuous, and active spy over the acts of the Government—this fortress, which has now been four years at anchor on the same spot, as if rooted to the ground, should not remain longer in those waters without its being resented by the decorum of the nation. International rights are so sacred, that our faithful friend and ally, England, could not in any manner be offended if Spain were to tell the English Government in the courteous and polite terms prescribed by diplomacy, how gratefully she would behold the disappearance from those waters of that mysterious vessel which has so alarmed her Cuban subjects.

As it cannot be my intention to wound, even ever so lightly, the susceptibility of the British Government, but rather to remove everything that might at any time give rise to complaints or resentment, either through the

ill-understood zeal of some, or through the ignorance of others, I will likewise explain the third source of annoyance to which we are subjected. I shall state it with increased pleasure, as without the necessity of ulterior claims, and out of respect alone to the treaties in force, that Government should, and I doubt not will show every deference to so just a desire, which is, that the "Comision Mista" should be transferred to the island of Porto Rico, where the number of negroes being very small, and their material strength very weak, no such effects could be produced as have just been begun to be experienced in Havana, such as presumption, insubordination and daring, supported by the presence of that commission which the malcontents consider as the protector of their chimerical liberty, or rather unbridled licence.

The right, to which I refer, is set down in the 12th article of the treaty of 1817, and the 7th of that of 1835.

The first says—"That every one of the high parties thereunto contracting has reserved his right of changing at his pleasure the residence of the commission, which may be in any of their respective dominions."

The second says—"That every one of the contracting parties has a reserved right to vary at his pleasure the residence of any tribunal exercising its functions in their dominions," etc.*

Some articles have lately been published containing doctrines which I do not entirely agree with, although it would be an injustice to deny their authors the most upright intentions and pure patriotism; but I have the misfortune to see these things in a different light. It is said in them, that the island of Cuba desires the total proscription of the slave trade, and even affirms that a representation from various Cuban landowners crying out against this clandestine traffic, which they assert is still continued only upon a lesser scale, has been inserted in the Standard London newspaper. I do not agree with the first, nor do I admit the second, save with many exceptions; I cannot conform to the principle set up, viz. that the island of Cuba desires the suppression of this traffic, because I cannot go the length of believing that a man can desire that which he knows will be to his injury. I will be more frank, more loyal, more explicit in my assertions:—the island of Cuba is greatly prejudiced by the non-introduction of extra labourers.

The island of Cuba, which possesses the most fertile lands in the world, requires a larger population to develop the germs it contains of opulence and power.

Some parties would introduce a colonization of white men, under the impression that they will be more useful than the negroes; but are the promoters of such plans aware that the black race is alone capable of bearing the severity of those tropical climates, and the heat of their solar rays? Must they not also confess, that there is no European who could stand the sun in

* We learn that Government has already made the proper representations in regard to the points in question.

the open country, especially in the burning months of summer? More than once have my ears caught the Utopian and delirious ideas of certain reformers aiming at this object, many of them doubtless moved by a holy zeal; and perhaps others excited by ulterior views not at all to be commended. Those who know the great island of the Antilles are aware of the difficulties which arise to a colonization of white people, however preferable might be this means of increasing the Cuban population, and thereby its richness and power. The present population may be sufficient to preserve what exists, but not for the agricultural development which that privileged soil demands.

Nor can I agree with the idea which the writer of the article in question suggests for the imposition of severer penalties on transgressors. Is not the loss of the vessels and merchandize seized, sometimes equal to a capital of four or six millions of rials, sufficient? Any additional penalty must be death or transportation to the culprits. And would the laws of humanity, which are so much invoked, be well consulted by such a measure? Or would politics, by authorizing a foreign country to dispose at its pleasure of the lives and liberties of the subjects of another nation for carrying on a contraband trade in nowise prejudicial to it? And this principle being established, should it not be applicable to other cases of like nature? Those to whom power is entrusted should act with great circumspection in matters transcendently important. The infraction of the treaties in force, occurring in the Spanish Antilles, is very trifling, and quite insignificant in comparison with that carried on in the Peninsula in those branches of trade which most affect the national prosperity and the morality of its subjects. Were Spain to address energetic appeals to England to repress by the strongest measures the criminal smuggling carried on by English subjects in the shameful introduction of their manufactures, what would be her reply? Let Spain watch and keep her coasts and frontiers well defended, and confiscate all seizures; but above all, let her respect the persons of the parties engaged therein.

It will be said that the same reasons do not apply to the slave trade—its prohibition being sanctioned by a prior solemn treaty; but among friendly nations, worthy of mutual respect, what necessity is there for special conditions? Are not English subjects aware that the introduction of cotton fabrics is prohibited in Spain? And do they on that account fail to introduce annually goods to the amount of two hundred millions of rials to the destruction of the national manufactures?

Let the treaties entered into between Spain and Great Britain be fulfilled by all means. Let all authorities allowing the slightest infraction be properly chastised. Let all vessels engaged in this illicit traffic be seized. Let the zeal and the vigilance of those employed to prosecute the perpetrators of this fraud, be stirred up; but to none let there be granted a lordly right over life and liberty, nor let an inquisitorial persecution, which would upset public tranquillity be tolerated. Those are the only concessions that can be made by a nation possessed of dignity and decorum. It is to be believed that by such

means the traffic in question will be abolished, which I cannot forget was begun by the English—who were the only parties for many years, who supplied our colonies with this merchandize, the traders in which are now persecuted with so much rigour. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that the Cubans will make the sacrifice of renouncing utterly future profit to retain that which they now peacefully possess. Their docile acquiescence to these arrangements will ever be a meritorious sacrifice:—they will conform to them to give a proof of their probity and obedience, and not because they desire them, nor because they believe that this prohibition is to their interest, as is affirmed by the writer of the article to which I allude.

Nor can I agree with the idea expressed; namely, that the total cessation of the negro traffic would sensibly improve the condition of the present slaves, under the supposition that in that case their owners would pay greater attention to their food and treatment. This is an error which I cannot do less than refute, because I am very far from believing that there is the slightest carelessness or omission on this point. The writer of the article in question, in speaking of the Colonial Council which France has established in her foreign possessions, eulogizes it to the greatest extent, and expresses a desire that this useful institution should be introduced into our dominions. Without any intention of detracting from the merit, which the French nation may have acquired in the administration of its colonial affairs, I may say that I do not think this system should be preferred to that set down in our ancient Indian code which is in full observance. This code, from whatever point it may be viewed, breathes forth inimitable precepts of morality, justice, philanthropy, and good government. And is a country, possessing this valuable code of laws, under the necessity of requesting lessons for the government of its people? Might not any innovation made in laws, which for more than three hundred years have secured the felicity of those inhabitants, be excessively prejudicial to them? And might they not alter the brilliant aspect they now present? Let our Government beware of allowing themselves to be carried away by great delusions to the abandonment of an old and tried course, the happy results of which have been well proved by the experience of three centuries.

The fact of England placing all the nations of the earth under contribution, so far from deserving reproof, is an enviable trophy of her colossal power and the right management of her affairs. That she should take different proceedings, according to the countries with whom she treats, should not be wondered at, because commerce knows no other politic principle than that of self-interest. If in the slave question she has taken premature steps, which might be interpreted as presages of a combined plan for the destruction of the island of Cuba, the blame should not be ascribed either to the English nation or Government, but to the great influence exercised over her by the abolitionists. The English Government has well calculated the causes and effects which may result from such measures. If the Parlia-

ment voted two thousand millions of rials for the purpose of indemnifying the slave owners in the thirteen islands of its dominions in the West Indies—if the Government has invested three hundred millions in the expenses connected with this service—it cannot certainly have been for the pleasure of expending fruitlessly such immense sums; but because it could not resist the first philanthropic fever, and the torrent of opinion formed by the flattering cries of humanity, sensibility, charity, and beneficence—which voices gained admittance into the august chamber of the national representatives, although expressing a sense very different from the reality.

Still, however great may be the sacrifices which England has made to sanction the alienation of her colonies in those seas—because alienation and emancipation are synonymous—they are in nowise to be compared with those imposed on Spain. What did the acquisition of her islands in the West Indies cost England? Nothing! for as nothing may be called the conquest made by her fleets, which in any case, and even without regard to this object, would have been armed to scour the seas in various directions to harass her enemies. But what has the island of Cuba cost Spain? It is needless to recapitulate, for it has already been stated sufficiently in detail in the first pages of this Memoir.

Therefore, although the English, impelled by excessive enthusiasm and erring opinions, have voluntarily consented to the alienation of colonies, whose acquisition has cost them nothing, in the preservation of which they have not expended any considerable sum, and the produce of which was rather of a negative character at the time of the emancipation, it is not a sufficient reason for them to desire, and still less to expect, a similar relinquishment on the part of the Spanish nation. It would be ridiculous to suppose that Spaniards should commit this political suicide; on the contrary, it is rather to be presumed that they will defend their legitimate property with all their energy and vigour. Were they to do otherwise; were the pacific inhabitants of those countries, who by their mildness, obedience, submission, fidelity, ardent attachment, and sacrifices endured for the mother country, have rendered themselves deserving of the most decided protection, to see themselves consigned over to the fury of the African race, it would be painful for me in the bitterness caused by these reflections, to be compelled to give vent to a terrible announcement which I know can never be realized, because the mother country can never forget the liabilities it has contracted with those subjects, nor fail to remember the obedience which is rooted so deeply in their hearts: an announcement that cannot be revealed save for an extreme case, such as the necessity of choosing between the dependence of the African race and that of a civilized nation who might rescue them from ruin and extermination.

It is impossible that the abolitionists could have calculated upon the chasm that they would open at the feet of the inhabitants of the valuable

Antilles of Spain ; neither can they have pondered upon the serious compromises in which they might involve the British Government were they to succeed in inducing it to carry out at all risks the claim recently forwarded to the island in question for the declaration of the emancipation of all the negroes introduced into it since the month of October, 1820.

It is not my intention to make any boast of strength, much less to challenge the power of Great Britain. No one desires more ardently than myself the preservation of the alliance and sincere friendship of a people who have shown so much sympathy towards the form of Government which so happily guides us. No one would more deeply deplore any alteration that might arise in these relations of the liveliest interest and polite correspondence ; but at the same time, nations should never be reduced to the extreme of purchasing the benefits of peace with shame and with ignominy.

If the present position of Spain does not offer the same degree of importance and vigour as that of England ; if party fury, still unequalled, stamps it on the one hand with a seal of debility in comparison with England, which is exempt from these conflicts ; if for so many, and such obvious reasons, the struggle between the two nations would be very unequal, there are in England an immense number of profound politicians who would know how to estimate the immense resources that our country could display even in the state to which she is reduced by civil war and party contention.

There are, therefore, plenty of forewarning men who would secure in the balance of facts, the utmost sympathy of all European nations towards a people whose liberty and independence was unreasonably and unjustly trampled upon, whose holy principle of propriety was attacked, whose international respect was wounded, whose dignity was infringed, and whose entire rights were derided. The first gun fired in the maintenance of the unjust pretensions of the abolitionists would echo through Europe, and be productive of the most transcendental misfortunes to the English nation, the commerce of which would offer a larger field for the ambition of those who would, in this circumstance, see the road to fortune.

But let us dismiss so dismal a picture. The British Government can never falsify the nobleness of its sentiments or the strictness of its principles. It may comply with the demands of the propagandists as far as national convenience and decorum will allow ; but it will never exceed those limits beyond which it can only find difficulties, conflicts, compromises, and irreparable injuries. This is my firm belief, and I do not think that I am mistaken. If I have made bold to paint in over-vivid colours the misfortunes that might befall my country, it is not that I mistrust the virtues which adorn the Government of England, nor that I fear she will ever swerve from the path of reason and justice ; but rather that these reflections may reach the knowledge of the abolitionists ; and the object of which, after praising to the highest degree the good judgment, probity and rectitude of the English nation, tends essen-

tially to convince them that they will vainly appeal to that Government to take any decided part in the realization of their absurd theories and extravagant projects.

My reflections also tend to show the deformity of the vicious proceedings of these propagandists, and the monstrous contradictions which they are guilty of ; since, whilst they invoke the soft names of humanity and beneficence, they poison people's minds, foment discord between Governments, and make every effort to provoke a rupture between nations, which should be friendly on the grounds of identity of principle and reciprocity of interests ; for the result of their resolute endeavours and violent impressions must be the spilling of human blood in torrents, and the sacrifice of the welfare of nations to their capricious inspirations.

Had I believed that the English Government shared in the aberrations of the fanatic propagandists, I should have abstained from declaring myself a party to this discussion, and would have confided its settlement to the private resources of diplomacy at this moment represented by persons endowed with the purest and most ardent patriotism : I should have kept silent, lest the handling of these questions by persons unininitiated in their great mysteries might have deepened instead of healing the wounds ; but as I am fully persuaded that all irrational demands equally affect Spanish as well as English politics ; and as I take into account the necessity Governments are often under of showing condescension to societies rendered respectable by their numbers, wealth, influence and power, no one can take otherwise than I intended my ready resolution in entering the lists to utter certain truisms, which I doubt not will occasion a smart to those who are interested in their being kept concealed, that their own perverted ends might prevail.

I have presented myself, then, with greater frankness and double energy from the fact of being satisfied that my arguments and allusions cannot be interpreted unfavourably to the British Government, to which I pay the tribute of my admiration and respect for the repeated and unequivocal proofs which it has given of esteem and consideration towards Spain under a liberal form. I stand forward with increased confidence from the fact of believing that the Government in question is incapable of adopting any formal measure tending to destroy the welfare of the Spanish nation.

These principles, which I know to be incontestable truths, once established, the Government of England cannot be offended at our rejecting with all the energy suitable to the Spanish character any claims similar to the one in question ; nor can it be offended if our Government should ask and make bold to hope for a favourable settlement of the three points referred to in the body of this Memoir, viz. the removal of the present English Consul at Havana, Mr. Turnbull, on account of his presence being prejudicial to public tranquillity ;—the withdrawal of the line of battle ship from the bay of that port, which being armed and manned by Africans, tends to sow the seeds of rebellion among the people of the same colour, besides other considerations

which I have mentioned ;—and, finally, the transfer of the “Comision Mista” to the island of Porto Rico, since by treaties at present in force, Spain has an additional right to make this claim as just as necessary.

In the midst of the eulogiums that I have pleasure in paying to the worthy members at present composing the Spanish Cabinet, I feel compelled to give them one useful hint, which I trust they will excuse, in deference to the patriotic zeal by which I am instigated : considering the state of alarm under which the foreign colonies are at present suffering, and which state of alarm is always accompanied by considerable injury, although the motives for it may be very quickly removed, it is requisite that such communications as might endanger the public property and repose should never transpire.

The Ministers of the Crown have sufficient intelligence and ample details for answering plausibly any diplomatic notes that may be addressed to them on the slave question, without the necessity of asking for information from those who have more than once expressed their firm and decided opinion, and who are too much interested in the subject to give them in any sense contrary to the immutable principles of reason and justice, which alone can be denied by eccentric visionists.

There is nothing to be gained by these consultations, but the evils they produce are immense. I am very far from blaming the Ministry, who rather deserve to be eulogized for their pure intentions, which could have been none other than to elucidate this question with abundant reasons and irrecusable evidence, which may fulfil the object of their anxiety and vigilance, directed to the defence of property, the preservation of order, the protection of wealth, and the consolidation of the welfare of its inhabitants.

In order to complete this picture of general interest, which so much affects the civilized world, I will just sketch over the other nations of Europe as far as regards the question of slavery. Has not England herself in the East Indies at least thirty millions of people, who may be considered as no better than slaves ? Do not Russia and Poland possess a still greater number of serfs, over whom their masters exercise a more absolute power, since they are the owners of their lives and property ? Do not the same also abound in the Brazils ? Are there not the same in the United States of America, six times in number more than in the island of Cuba ? Why do not the propagandists direct their evangelical preaching to these countries ? Is it because they consider Spain possesses the least strength to resist their chimerical pretensions ? Such a supposition would be far from honourable to the English character. The nobility of its sentiments does not allow it to attack the weak for acts that it would respect in the strong. Such conduct would be worse than irregular, and the English Government can never authorise it. The United States, which own three millions of slaves, would vigorously repulse any attempt to emancipate them, and would assuredly interest themselves in the defence of this description of property in the island of Cuba, if at any time they were to see it attacked, because by defending the Spanish

cause they also defend their own. Would it not therefore be highly blameable of any one to endeavour basely to create war between friendly people for the purpose of sustaining principles, that however ardent may be the sympathies they secured at the outset, such have gradually been decreasing, until many, and amongst them even England herself, have abjured these very principles, making severe accusations against those who have originated so many evils, and caused so many material and positive damages? Possibly the day may come when the Governments and persons, prejudiced by the exalted zeal of those violent missionaries, will denounce them publicly as the promoters of so many disorders, and when they will have to weep in silence over the mischief which they did to the public weal. The excess of my zeal and my conviction, that by advocating our cause in the slave question I am supporting justice and general interest, which include the preservation of property and the prevention of obstinate wars that might make human blood run in torrents, has possibly allowed my pen to run too freely. It will scarcely be astonishing if some excited remarks be observed in my expressions, and too much warmth in my attacks. This question being explained in a satisfactory manner, which has tranquilized my agitated spirit, I must now make a protest that will be the final proof of my good faith and upright intention, as I know that the uneasiness of my mind must have vented itself in some bitter shades throughout my declamations.

Although no one can deny the mischief that the hallucinations of the propagandists are doing to the repose of nations, I will be just in confessing that the intentions of these propagandists may have been very pure in their origin, however vitiated in their application. I do not believe that any one of these philanthropists could have proposed to himself the determined object of occasioning the misfortunes that would ensue upon the adoption of their plans; I do not believe that there is among them any evil-disposed hearts, and hence I flatter myself, that at the same time they will know how to excuse the harshness that may have intruded itself into my expressions, through a zeal not less ardent in the true cause of humanity and social propriety; that they will take into consideration the forcible arguments that I oppose to their exaggerated inspirations. I also flatter myself that they will mend their erring estimates, and will employ the principles of philanthropy they so blazon forth in improving the conditions of the poorer classes of old Europe, whose blood is shed so often to secure work and thereby earn scanty maintenance for their families, since they do not devote their attention to other regions where the human race is degraded and brutish. Let them dismiss all fears and compassion of the lot of the serfs of the Antilles, whose owners are more interested than any one else in prolonging their existence by the utmost care, in giving them a moral and religious education, which is the greatest curb for a man living in society, and in teaching them a trade, so that they may become useful members of the community.

I hope and fervently beg that they will read this Memoir with attention, as they will find therein a noble and grand object, although it may be deficient

in the persuasive eloquence which I have never so much envied as now, that I might deeply root in their minds the sentiments of universal justice which inspire me.

It remains for me to give some sketches of the present position of the French colonies, and the manner of considering the nation in regard to the question of slavery. Although it cannot be said that the same similarity exists between these colonies and the Spanish possessions, I find, nevertheless, sufficient similitude in the language made use of by one of the most respectable organs of public opinion, the renowned writer Mr. Granier de Cassagnac. The letters, which he has published lately in Havana and in the United States, will serve me as a text, and even afford me consolation and satisfaction in seeing that the opinions of this profound observer are so much in accordance with my own. As the doctrines contained in these letters are, I consider, very adapted to the present case, I have deemed it advisable to give at the end of this publication* an extract from those most interesting, which I accept with enthusiasm as corroborative of the exactness of my arguments.

At the head of the French abolitionists there are three distinguished persons whose names would be more respected, if the cause which they defend were more popular and more in unison with general interests. The parties I refer to are Messrs. Passy, Tracy, and Tocqueville; and in the second line, there appear Messrs. Thiers, Guizot, and Roussin, although it may well be believed that these three last have uttered opinions in accordance with the others, not from conviction, but because policy required that they should shew some condescension to the demands of a certain party which, from its influence, even in Parliament, it was not convenient to alienate. The words pronounced by those ministers in the Parliamentary tribune, viz. that "they considered emancipation as decided in politics," are but ingenious resources of diplomacy to elude these questions, deferring indefinitely their settlement.

When Spain sees the slaves of the French colonies and United States emancipated, then the demands upon the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico may have some weight, not because this measure at any time be either just or convenient, but because the good harmony that should reign amongst all the nations of Europe may induce Spain to make the painful sacrifice of modifying her colonial system. But all proceedings, save upon this hypothesis, will be highly irritating, and should be rejected with energy and vigour, if the friendly reflections and the most polite and politic terms do not answer the required purpose.

Let the inhabitants of our colonies abroad, then, tranquillize themselves. It is impossible for a virtuous and intelligent Government like that of Great Britain, to wish to demand the suicide of a friendly and allied nation; and it is still less possible that our Government, so eminently patriotic, would sanction and acquiesce in the ruin of those opulent countries. Whatever vicissitudes the Spanish nation may undergo, whatever may be the changes

* See Appendix No. 2.

of her politics, it is impossible that any minister could have the impudence and effrontery to sign the destruction of the white race of our foreign possessions, or at least that of their property, and which would be followed by the prostration of the mother country, on account of the panic it would occasion in her agriculture, industry, and commerce, and which damage would be shared with more or less intensity by all the nations of Europe. The French writer to whom I have referred has exclaimed more than once—"there will be no emancipation!" These magic words find an echo so flattering in the heart of every Spaniard who is interested in the welfare of his country, that I cannot refrain from repeating them ;—"there will be no emancipation!" Truly there never will be: not because Spain is deficient in humanity, beneficence, and the most propitious disposition to make every kind of sacrifice compatible with decorum to preserve intact her diplomatic relations, but because it is not just, convenient, or even possible, at least for the present.

I trust that these reflections, arguments, and protestations, proceeding from an ardent zeal for the public good—a zeal common to all Spaniards, with very few exceptions—may prove a restorative consolation to our Antilles; and that by calming the agitation and fear, which possess the minds of those inhabitants, the paralization of their commerce may be ended, and all the branches of public wealth return to the state of vigour in which they were flourishing prior to these alarms; and that they may all devote themselves with liberty and confidence to the task of elevating their opulence and power to the summit to which they are called by their happy lot.

ALTHOUGH twelve years have elapsed since the publication of this Memoir, very few changes have occurred as regards facts, and none as regards arguments, so that I shall confine myself to a ratification of the political principles expressed at that time, and to a recapitulation of the only points that require to be ratified, which are the following ; viz.

1st. The annual surplus funds remitted to the Peninsula, which were estimated at four millions and a half of dollars in 1841, now scarcely amount to two millions, in consequence of the increase in the expenditure occasioned by the augmentation of naval and land forces for the better defence of the island.

2nd. The complete failure of the coal mine, from which that country expected to derive so many advantages.

3rd. The great developement of the agricultural wealth, which has proved the correctness of the estimates given in that Memoir.

4th. The departure of the consul, Mr. Turnbull, from Havana, which took place shortly after the publication of the said Memoir.

5th. The disappearance of the flag and crew of the English ship, anchored in the Bay of Havana, since 1837, which was sold to the Spanish Government one year after.

APPENDIX II.

OPINIONS OF MR. GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC ON EMANCIPATION.*

FOR the last eight years I have been declaiming against the madness of the abolitionists. For the last eight years I have been exclaiming—"Do not alarm yourselves if the Government ever speak of emancipation: this is a concession made to a small flame of philanthropy, which now blazes and which will die away." The Government will again speak of the subject; but between talking and acting there is a wide chasm of impossibilities, absurdities, and spoliations, which will restrain the utmost daring. In order to carry out emancipation, it would be necessary to study the colonies beforehand; and when France knows them, she will doubtless introduce any improvements that may be desirable; but the dreaded emancipation will not take place. The emancipation proposed by Messrs. Passy, Tracy, and Tocqueville, which is no improvement, but a general disaster for the blacks, the colonies, and France, will not be carried out. The words of the three ministers, Messrs. Roussin, Guizot, and Thiers, viz. that they considered emancipation as decided in politics, signify nothing. Things that are impossible are never decided. Ten years ago the King declared that the Polish nationality would not perish: for ten years Parliament has been repeating the same thing: and where now is Polish nationality?

Hitherto the abolitionists have done as they pleased,—they have committed outrages, uttered calumnies and falsehoods: no one has contradicted them. Hitherto the abolitionists have boasted of their great personal dignity, and no one has called them the puppets of popularity, and no true philanthropists; for, if they had been so, they would love all mankind, and would not be groaning day and night over the lot of three hundred thousand Africans (who are well dressed, well fed, well lodged, and better cared for, and only undergoing work more fitted for women and children), whilst they remain with icy heart and dry eyes in the midst of three millions of Christian and French workpeople, who often want bread, fire, and clothing, who sleep with their families in noisome places, and have no other refuge in their misery than the hospital or pan of charcoal to end at once their misfortunes. Hitherto no one has told these visionary reformers that they are ignorant of the organization of the people—that their theories are absurd and ridiculous—that the solution which they propose to the colonial questions teem with a thousand irregularities and misfortunes, without even having the shadow of benefit, morality, or civilization.

If the abolitionists have hitherto kept all the world in dread, it is they themselves who are now in fear. The abolitionists have made ministers

* I have deemed it advisable to annex, as the conclusion of this work, an extract from the doctrines of the eminent writer Mr. Granier de Cassagnac, which being so much in unison with my own, offer a double guarantee of the correctness of the arguments adduced to develop this important question.

tremble ; but, alas ! what is it that poor ministers do not tremble at ? The abolitionists have nothing in their hearts, and very little in their heads ; but what they hold in their hands is very valuable—there they have a magic wand. This ill-fated wand is the irresistible talisman with which they frighten governments. But for this wand, we should see how they would be treated by Messrs. Guizot, Thiers, Molé, and other superior men, who, nevertheless, already begin to take little heed of their wand, for there may be those who well know how to wrest it from their hands.

The abolitionists have made the colonies tremble ; but, alas ! at what will not the colonies tremble ? Situated far from France, although they are her chief wealth and main resource in agricultural, industrial, and commercial politics ; although they love the mother country, and glory in her dependence ; although they have aspired to noble sentiments and sublime ideas, as the branches imbibe the sap of the trunk ; being more favoured by heaven, and richer than the mother country, they have done more than even France herself, by affording through the medium of moderate work, and a paternal Government, the greatest benefits and consolations, as the result of which mendicity might be unknown. In spite, then, of so many blessings as the colonies set forth, they have remained at the mercy of the poorest calumny and to the most cowardly insults, because France does not know them.

The colonies purchase annually from the agriculture and industry of France goods to the amount of sixty millions of francs, giving employment to fifteen or twenty thousand sailors in the merchant navy and in the fisheries, and who, it may also be said, live at their expense. The colonies pour thirty millions of francs annually into the coffers of France for import duties on sugar and coffee. The negroes are more free than the French servants, because on the completion of their task, which is not very heavy, they do what they like, and go where they please, whilst the French servants cannot leave home, save for a few hours every fortnight. It is a falsehood to say that the negroes suffer barbarous treatment. There may, perhaps, be isolated cases here and there, as indeed where are there not ? The few culprits who are discovered are punished. The colonists are just and beneficent with their negroes ; they pay for their doctors and medicine, whereas in France the masters are certainly not so generous with their servants. Notwithstanding these facts, they continue their insults. Calumny puts forth its poisonous fang ; the abolitionists triumph—honourable men are deluded—the colonies are threatened—and the colonies tremble !

To you, landowners, industrial enterprizers, merchants, and shipowners, who have abolitionists as your representatives in Parliament, I say, ponder well what you are about ! Your deputies will ruin the French colonies with their chimeras ; when the French are ruined, the Spanish, although they may have come unscathed out of the disaster, like a solitary house in the midst of a general conflagration, will be unable to resist the breath of the false but victorious philanthropy ; when the Spanish colonies have been destroyed, the South American States, that is to say, the rich and truly powerful States, being attacked on all sides, will sink beneath the weight of

their futile efforts, and then what will become of you landowners, industrial enterprisers, merchants, and shipowners? Where will you send your produce and ships, since you cannot be so imbecile as to imagine that the interior markets of France can be sufficient to constitute a great agricultural, commercial, and industrial prosperity?

The French colonies, the Spanish colonies, and the United States form four-fifths of your exterior markets; but these markets cannot pay for your produce, save with the produce of their own, and this would be annihilated from the moment that their sole branch of industry, viz. the agricultural, was destroyed.

To you, field labourers, factory workpeople, fishermen, sailors—to you, who earn your poor and peccacious livelihood by producing corn and wine, making cloth, stuffs or silks, or by cod-fishing, or by scouring the seas and enduring a thousand privations and dangers—I say you may take it for granted, that you are going to be deprived even of the bread that costs you so much labour, and which scarcely suffices for the support of your unfortunate families.

There are in the colonies three hundred thousand Africans, who were slaves in their own country, and who have been transferred from the hut of an idolatrous and savage master to the home of a French Christian and civilian, in which they are better lodged, better clothed, better fed, and better cared for than you are, whilst their work is much lighter. Many false philanthropists, who leave you to perish in the winter, have allowed themselves to be borne away by a fallacious tenderness towards those Africans so far as to wish to exempt them from even this little work, without ever calculating that by this means they will deprive you of your daily bread, for if there is no negro labour there will be no sugar or coffee in your colonies, and failing which products there will be no money to pay you the sixty millions of francs, which the wheat, wine, cloths, stuffs, silks, and cod-fish amount to; and therefore the working classes of France, who produce these goods, will be thrown out of employment.

I appeal also to you, real philanthropists and sincere friends of humanity—to you, pious people, who have erroneously excited yourselves against the colonies—to you, statesmen, who understand the real interests of nations—to each of you I address myself, in order that you may prohibit your abolitionist representatives from depriving you of your property, your labour, your earnings, your peace, and your welfare. Impose silence upon them, and tell them to go and seek popularity elsewhere, because they cannot expect it from the ruin in which they are going to involve you, nor from the falsehoods and trickery with which they endeavour to blind you.

When the truth comes to be known, cries will arise from those connected with agriculture, industry, commerce, the shipping, the fields, the trades—from all the legitimate interests, from all superior understandings, and from all consciences,—in fine, cries will arise from all sides to impose silence on the abolitionists and repulse them. They will then be no longer feared by the ministers, and they will be despoiled of the wand with which they are continually menacing us.

It is you who have established the resistance, not to the progress that might be possible, or to desirable improvements, but to the measures that would destroy all work, and what is the same, all order, welfare, and morality.

And you colonists, who give to African labourers and idolaters what France and England deny to Europeans and Christians—you, who educate them among your own children with a goodness that does you honour—you, who care for them in sickness with an assiduity unknown amongst European masters—you should not lend your assent to the greatest political fault that France could have hitherto committed. A speculator might content himself with an indemnification that would save his capital; but you have a more noble character than that of speculators. You are Frenchmen, and should oppose yourselves to ruining commerce and the merchant navy of France. You are intelligent and generous, and it is impossible that you can wish to assist in the creation of a society from which work is banished, and through which African barbarism is attempted to be enthroned.

This very year a most important event has occurred, which has taken the abolitionists very much by surprise; viz. the re-establishment of forced labour in the English colonies with the blacks of Sierra Leone.

On the 15th of February, 1851, Mr. Barclay, a member of the legislative assembly of Jamaica, left the river Thames in London with three vessels, authorized by the English Government to bring from the coast of Sierra Leone three cargoes of negroes, bound for fourteen years to cultivate certain estates in that island.

The great society of the London abolitionists addressed a strong representation to Lord John Russell, who did not deign to reply to them personally, but did so through his Secretary Mr. Vernon Smith; and even this reply was limited to six evasive and depreciative lines. The English Government is already undeceived—the Western colonies are lost—London has no sugar or coffee, save at very high prices, and it has been found necessary to admit Haytian coffee on the condition (to give the measure an air of decorum) that it should be sent through the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Labouchere has already proposed for this year a diminution in the duties, in order to give admittance to foreign grown sugar.

This is what the philanthropists have brought England to, and to what they would reduce France. Although England has lost her Western, she still possesses the Eastern colonies for her commerce, but what remains to France on losing hers? She still would possess Algiers, a precious outlet for the blood of our soldiers and millions of our property. When the English, whose suffrages we are soliciting, and whose humble servants it is desired that we should be, re-establish compulsory labour in their colonies, it is impossible that we should subscribe to its abolition in ours. When the Cabinet of England is repairing with firmness a great fault that it has committed, it is impossible for ours to shut its eyes and commit a greater. Since we imitate the English, let this humiliation be a warning to us, unless we have only resolution enough to copy her errors, and not the energy to imitate her valour.

In order to comply with the requirements of the abolitionist commission, presided over by Mr. de Broglie, it would be necessary for agriculture, industry, commerce, and the merchant navy, to bring forth with their own hands the halter destined for self-strangulation. But this can never happen. It is now seven years since ten of the most important cities of France have witnessed the last struggles of the colonies, without ever suspecting that they are in their own. Paris, San Quintin, Rouen, Havre, Nantes, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Toulouse, Lyons, and Marseilles, without awakening from their lethargy, join in the discussion promoted by the English philanthropists upon the welfare of those cities, as the colonies are the principal markets for the outlet of their produce.

In speaking of the French, we should also include the Spanish colonies, because it is in them alone that our commerce is so much interested. The only ones that the English and our philanthropists and their friends have hitherto been enabled to annihilate.

The ten cities just enumerated have not paused to reflect that the question is not one of morality or philanthropy, but of life and death to the agriculture, industry, and commerce of France. To arouse them from their lethargy we will place before them, and submit to their intelligence and patriotism, the system of the abolitionists as productive of disorganization and ruin, in comparison with the views of the colonies which tend to preservation and improvement; and those cities undeviated of their error cannot do less than silence the cries of false philanthropy, and clip the wings of the commission presided over by Mr. de Broglie.

There is no longer to be found any man of station, or any minister, who would dare to ask for money from tortured agriculture to close up the only outlets that it has left. No one would have the impudence to take away the bread, or what is the same thing employment, from the poor families of the virtuous labouring classes of France to purchase, with great injury, the pleasure of keeping the Africans in a state of stupid idleness.

It is impossible that in an age like ours a philanthropic madness and false liberalism should so blind those entrusted with the reins of Government as to induce them to sacrifice European civilization to African barbarism—the ties of family to promiscuous intercourse—labour to idleness—and the religion of Christ to the idolatry of the desert.

ALTHOUGH the French colonies have been emancipated, not after a temperate and circumspect discussion in the national representation, but in virtue of the revolutionary storm of 1848, Mr. Granier de Cassagnac's arguments have not on that account lost their force, nor have his sad predictions turned out less true; for, as we have elsewhere said, the colonies in question offer to the European markets now, scarcely one third of what they produced before their emancipation, independently of other evils that have ensued upon this lamentable event.

